HILAIRE HILER

FROM NUDITY TO RAIMENT

◆

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF COSTUME

THE EDUCATIONAL PRESS
NEW-YORK, N. Y.
1930

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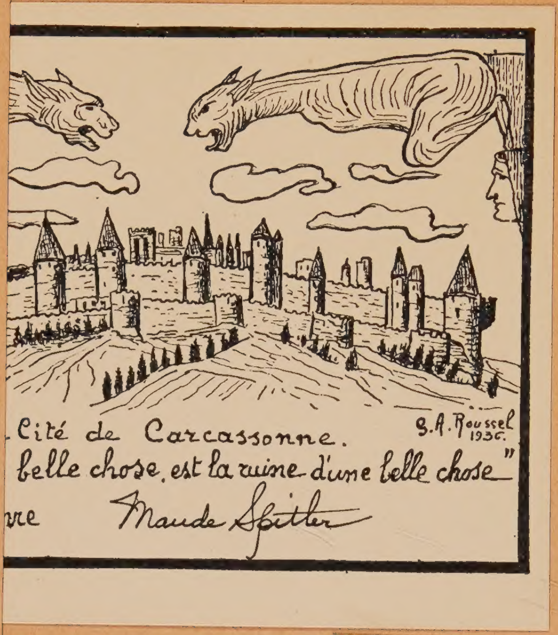

Cité de Carcassonne.

S.A. Roussel 1936.

belle chose, est la ruine d'une belle chose"

re Maude Spitler

Presented to

Maude Spitler

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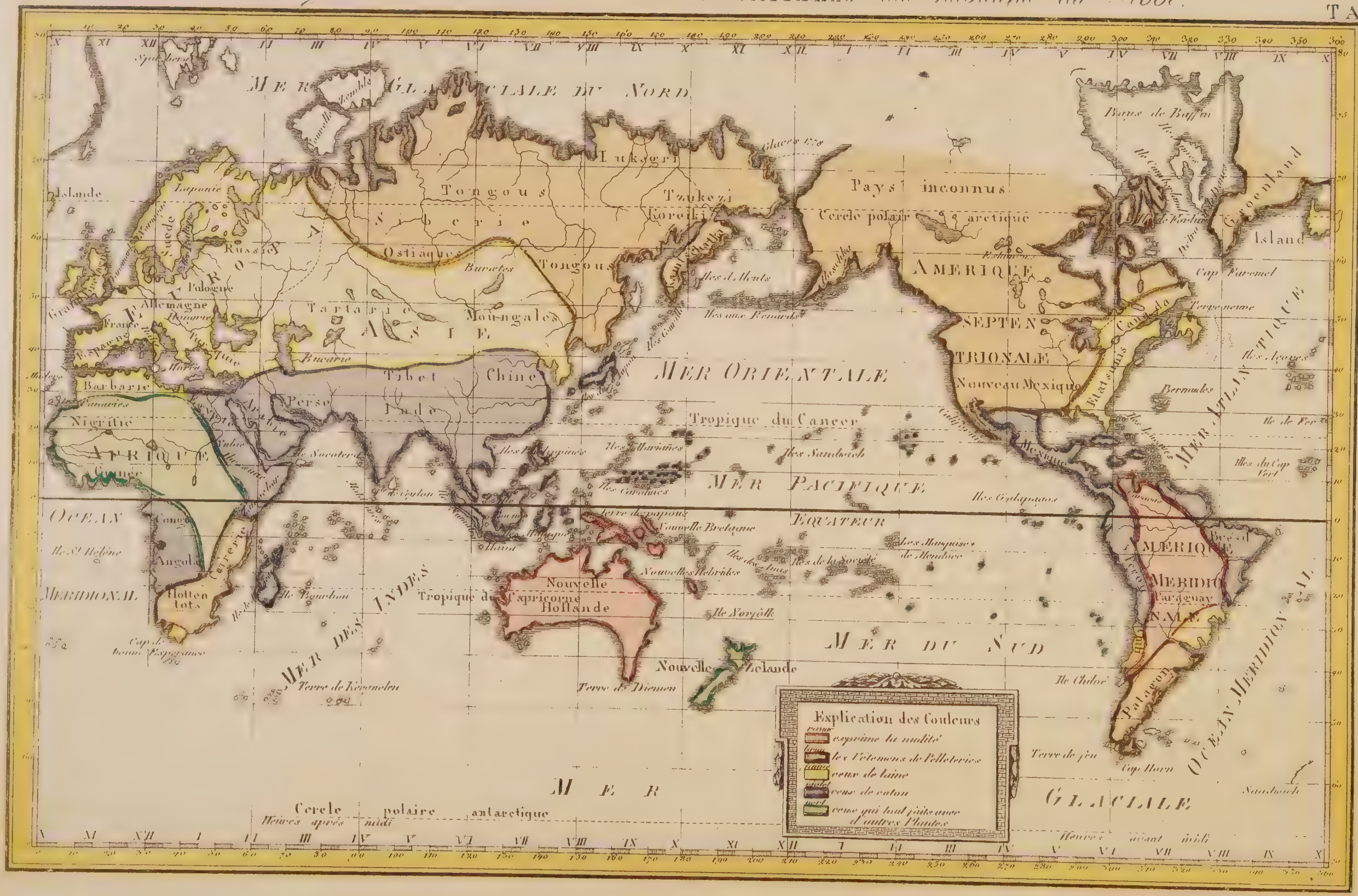
FROM
NUDITY
TO
RAIMENT

Charte générale relative à la nature des **VÊTEMENS** des habitans du Globe.

TA


Explication des Couleurs
rouge exprime la nudité
brun les Vêtemens de Pelleteries
jaune ceux de laine
violet ceux de coton
vert ceux qui tont faits avec d'autres Plantes
MER GLACIALE DU NORD
Spitzberg
Nouvelle Zemble
Islande
Laponie
Suede
Russie
Pologne
Allemagne
France
Espagne
Italie
Turquie
Barbarie
Canaries
Nigritie
AFRIQUE
Guinée
Congo
Angola
Cafrerie
Hottentots
Cap de bonne Espérance
Ile St. Hélène
OCEAN MERIDIONAL
EUROPE
Siberie
Ostiaques
Tongous
Lukagri
Tzukezi
Koreiki
Kamtschatka
Tartarie
Moungales
Burates
ASIE
Bucarie
Tibet
Chine
Perse
Inde
Arabie
Egypte
Ile Socotera
Ile de Ceylan
Iles Philippines
Iles Mariannes
Iles Carolines
Terre des Papous
Nouvelle Bretagne
Nouvelles Hebrides
Nouvelle Hollande
Tropique du Capricorne
Terre de Diemen
Nouvelle Zelande
Ile Norfolk
Ile Bourbon
Ile de Madagascar
MER DES INDES
Terre de Kerguelen
Iles Aleuts
Iles aux Renards
Glaces 1778
MER ORIENTALE
Tropique du Cancer
Iles Sandwich
MER PACIFIQUE
EQUATEUR
Iles de la Société
Les Marquises de Mendoce
MER DU SUD
Pays inconnus
Cercle polaire arctique
Esquimaux
AMERIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE
Nouveau Mexique
Californie
Mexique
Canada
Etats unis
Terre neuve
Baye de Baffin
Ile Cumberland
Groenland
Island
Cap Farewel
Bermudes
Iles Açores
Ile de Fer
Iles du Cap Vert
Iles Lucayes
MER ATLANTIQUE
Iles Galapagos
AMERIQUE MERIDIONALE
Bresil
Perou
Paraguay
Chili
Patagons
Ile Chiloé
Terre de feu
Cap Horn
Sandwich
OCEAN MERIDIONAL
MER GLACIALE
Cercle polaire antarctique
Heures après midi
Heures avant midi

(Stallart-1810)

HILAIRE HILER

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF COSTUME

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INTRODUCTION

The proper study of mankind is man, said Pope ; and multitudinous as is this study, there is no branch of it so fascinating as the research into origins. Dogmatic nobody can be about the beginnings of human life on our globe ; but marking those beginnings was the adoption of dress. The expression "naked savage" has become conventional, but it is essentially inaccurate. I will not assert that, in the infinite variety of nature, there is no naked savage ; but I will assert that the chief distinction between the savage and the beast is that the savage is adorned. As soon as man swung earthward from the tree-tops, he began to wonder how he could improve, or at least employ, the phenomena with which he was surrounded to increase his own power and dignity. The animal accepts things as they are. Man endeavours to mould and modify things. In the dim backward and abysm of time, the ex-arboreal creature experimented and combined, discovered and invented, thought and conceived. There are a dozen familiar practices of vital importance to us which, in the world's youth, were miraculous. What genius made the first fire, for example, we shall never know ; but he is worthy of the foremost place in our human annals. There have been on this subject alone endless speculations ; but at the end of our inquiry we are left in doubt whether fire came from a happy accident, or from deliberate cogitation, whether it was the act of one superior man, or the simultaneous and spontaneous consequence of a given stage of human *evolution. In all that relates to the early growth of mankind there are these impenetrable mysteries. Was it a utilitarian purpose which impelled man upward on the path which led from brute creation? Or was it the awakening of spirituality which first distinguished him and determined his progress? These are questions which we, who suppose ourselves now to stand on the topmost peaks of civilization, will never cease to ask. And they and many others, equally interesting, are all inherent in the record of the progress from nudity to raiment.*

To these absorbing studies my friend, Mr. Hilaire Hiler, has long applied himself. He has acquired an encyclopædic knowledge. He has, with a clear intelligence, found clues in the labyrinth. Most men who have taken up this theme have lost themselves in the thick-set forest of facts. They cannot, as the saying goes, see the wood for the trees. The evidences are contradictory and confusing. A most competent guide is needed to conduct us through this pathless jungle. Certainly the way has been blazed, but it has been blazed in many different directions; and such marks as exist are puzzling. It is useless to pile up a mere multiplicity of lore which may be excellent in itself, and yet, heaped together, makes confusion more confounded. High time it was to endeavour to reduce it to some kind of order; and, as I think, Hiler displays a remarkable talent for collation and simplification. With all its erudition (as to that I do not think there can be two opinions) this is a book which will help not only to clarify the ideas of the experts, but to inform agreeably the man in the street. With all its documentation (as comprehensive as it is accurate) this is a popular book.

Yet simplification has its dangers. Those who aim at simplification usually construct a theory. It is an a priori *theory. They do not make their theory fit the facts. They make the facts fit their theory. In the appalling mass of contradictions they select whatever suits their particular doctrine — and of doctrines concerning the inception of clothing and decoration there are no lack. Specialisation* *is always perilous. A friend of mine was once stricken by a strange malady. His doctor could not explain why he wasted away. Thereupon he sent him to a specialist who by X-ray photographs demonstrated that the heart of my friend was displaced. Nevertheless treatment proved inefficacious. After some time another specialist was consulted. He plainly proved that my friend's lungs were affected. A further course of treatment was equally without result. Then a third specialist, who believed that all human ills arise from digestive troubles, ascertained that my friend's stomach was functioning badly. At this dictum my friend lost all faith in the medicinal art and decided to live a normal life. The metabolistic forces reasserted themselves, and he was cured. Doubtless the three specialists were, in a limited sense, all right. They had diagnosed precisely what they set out to diagnose. But of metabolism, in the larger sense, they were ignorant. Each of them had mistaken a symptom for a cause. So it is generally with specialists. So it is generally with theorists, who refer everything to their particular theory.*

I relate this experience not with the intention of depreciating the doctors but with the intention of giving an easily understood example of the danger of specialisation which ought to be another name for simplification. Ultimately, of course, all phenomena are simple; but to our immediate perception all phenomena are complicated. The origin of clothing is complex. It is not to be explained by this theory or by that theory. Some of those who have devoted their attention to the subject have fallen into the error of dogmatically declaring that clothing arose from one or other of the various needs and aspirations of mankind. For my part, I protest; and though I discern in Hiler, as I read over the printer's sheets of his work, a certain penchant and preference for a theory, yet one of the greatest merits of his book is that, while keeping his statement clear and unconfused, he nevertheless sets out impartially all the main theories.

They are numerous. In his admirable Chapter One he provides the reader with a choice of theories. If the reader chooses to accept *one of them to the exclusion of the others, that is his affair, though I trust that he will be perspicacious enough to see that each of them has its place. The part is not greater than the whole; and though this or that influence may have predominated in a given place and time, yet clothing and adornment originate from protective, economic, religious, amuletic, sexual, totemistic and aesthetic principles — to name only a few of the principles which induced men to fashion garments and ornaments for themselves.*

We must beware of laying more stress than is warranted on one set of facts. We must beware of isolating one set of facts. That is, I believe, the prevailing sin of our age. We are inclined by the very extent of our knowledge to start with preconceived and fashionable notions. In a Welsh castle during the war, a group of literary men, who had been drafted as army officers, were stationed. In the spacious hall was an assortment of stuffed exotic birds. "What is that strange bird ?" asked one of the officers. "That", answered another, "is a flamingo". "A flamingo!" exclaimed the first; "that's not my idea of a flamingo." "Perhaps it is not", said the second, "but it happens to be God's idea of a flamingo". We all resemble in some degree the incredulous officer who, from some remote depths of his own consciousness, had conjured up his idea of a flamingo.

The application of this incident to our subject is obvious. We may, for example, begin with the preconceived notion that clothes are sexual in their origin. Probably they are sexual in part, but not altogether; and there has been a good deal of false reasoning based on our supposed affinity with animals. The analogy, however, is far from being as complete as is often pretended. The human and the animal sexual processes are not the same. The periodicity of them in most animals sufficiently serves to differentiate them from those of the human species. In the human species, one may properly say, the sexual capacity exists in permanence but its exercise is more casual and commonplace. Primitive human male ornamentation may loosely be likened to the ornamentation of the peacock; and the *human female may have been attracted by various symbols denoting virility, courage, success in war or in hunting. Yet I cannot but feel that this sexual purpose of ornamentation was indeed incidental. The man — the savage more than the civilized — would utilise these adventitious advantages of ornamentation in the sexual sense chiefly at the moment of wife-getting, and thereafter they would have (if the sexual theory is accepted exclusively) little* raison d'être. *I think his ornamentation was adopted principally for its effect upon himself, and on other men of his tribe, and on his enemies, and on his gods. The motive may have been magical or aesthetic ; or any other motive unconnected with sex. Today the women instinctively realise that they must make themselves attractive ; and the history of clothes in civilised times turns more upon the woman than upon the man. I cannot but think that, from the purely sexual viewpoint, this has been always the case. In some of the primitive burials the ornaments have been found in proximity to the male ; but this peculiarity can be interpreted as indicating the more adventurous spirit and the superior strength of the man, who kept to himself the things he prized the most — his charms to propitiate the gods, his trophies to impress his fellows, his decorations to delight himself. The circumstance shows — or seems to me to show — the relative lowly status of the woman in prehistoric and primitive times. If that be granted, then dress originated among men chiefly out of their relations with themselves — or, if you please, with their own souls — out of their relations with other men, and out of their relations with the gods ; and had no fundamental necessity in their relations with their womenfolk in days when men followed*

> The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

Nevertheless the sexual attractiveness of clothes and of ornamentation must not be dismissed as negligible. It is more important, as Hiler points out, than the Mosaic story which would have clothes spring from the human development of modesty or of shame. Modesty seems to have been an afterthought, which came at a comparatively late stage of human growth. It is largely conventional, the fruit of education; and is not innate, as is amply shown by the diametrically opposed manifestations of modesty in different regions of the world and at different dates. Even in our own lifetime we have witnessed an extraordinary evolution of the sense of modesty; and our grandfathers would be dreadfully shocked if they could suddenly return to the post-war world. There is something to be said for the affirmation that clothing was adopted as a badge of possession, as an attempt to reduce sex attraction in those who were already apportioned and jealously guarded. But here again there is contradiction with the widely accepted view of the coquettish character of clothes. It is possible to dwell upon the protection against the element afforded by clothes. It is possible to elaborate the totemistic thesis. It is possible to regard beads and tattooing and so forth as symbolic, as amuletic, as conferring special qualities on those thus ornamented. It is possible — continuing the same train of thought — to see primarily in clothing an ecclesiastic intention, certain vestments being the prerogative of priestly persons. Closely allied is the supposition that men imagined this method of showing their profession, their tribe, their caste, even as in our day and in our land judges wear robes, clergymen wear peculiar collars and hats, soldiers wear uniforms and Kings (I presume, for I have never seen a King in his regalia) wear crowns. There is, indeed, much in modern life which seems to carry on a tradition which is doubtless extremely old of professional, of tribal, and of caste distinction. It may be that the earlocks of the Jews and their practice of circumcision were originally meant merely to be distinctive. Who knows what impulse first set men to shaving? The ear-pendants of women, the watch-chains and rings of men, are barbarous relics. Primitive peoples may have invented the mask to frighten their adversaries, and the burglar *who dons a mask today may unconsciously (besides hiding his identity) be trading upon our atavistic emotions like the cowled adherents of the Ku-Klux-Klan. Hiler gives some convincing examples of aesthetic feeling among the lower animals, and unquestionably the taste for bright colours, for sparkling objects, may have been at the bottom of body-painting, of tattooing, of wearing feathers and jewels and whatnot. All these motives are inextricably mixed, and dogmatism would be arbitrary and delusive.*

The chapter on prehistoric dress is especially instructive. Hiler traces the evidences of the use of ornaments, ritualistic, artistic, totemistic, protective, succinctly; and his tables are helpful. But, it is in his third chapter on the primitive peoples, in which he deals specifically with the strange customs of body-painting, tattooing, mutilation, hairdressing, that he is perhaps most interesting. It is an ethnographical compendium which I consider admirable. Here he marshals a wealth of facts with judicious care and skill. He suggests reasons for the use of this or that material arranged in such and such a style. His suggested reasons are convincing, but again I should like to underline that they are very varied. There is no single root. These ornaments and clothes are the offspring of vanity, superstition, necessity, sexual instincts and warlike proclivities. Take tattooing : Hiler ably sums up the possible explanations. There is the explanation of decorativeness ; there is the explanation of amorousness ; there is hieratic tattooing ; there is tattooing which serves as a record — the tattooing of warriors who keep a tally of their slain foes ; there is medicinal tattooing ; there is ritualistic tattooing ; there is caste tattooing ; and several other forms of a practice which still persists to a limited extent in civilised countries among the ignorant and criminal classes. I merely take tattooing as an example of the manner in which the author manipulates his matter. He is equally illuminating when he informs us of the curious mutilations that have been, and are still, undergone by primitive and backward peoples. These are fixed ornaments. Coiffure comes as a link between fixed ornament *and mobile ornament — that is to say, clothing. It is a topic which should appeal to every woman who ever sat in a hairdresser's chair. Masks too, studied as Hiler studies them, throw much light upon human psychology: it may be that from the religious wearing of the mask has developed our own dramatic art. But there is no branch of ornamentation or clothing that is neglected; and, incidentally, everything that since the beginning of time man has thought about the universe, his social life, his family life, his spiritual life, his artistic life, his mental, moral and physical life, are all connected with clothing.*

To the bronze age he devotes a separate chapter, and of the American civilizations he makes a special study. Here is a book which, as the publisher rightly claims, has its importance and interest for the artist, the historian, the ethnologist, and to all who are curious about the manifestations of human life. Costume has formed the theme of a large number of books, but many of them are historical or descriptive. They may furnish the raw material, but it is only in comparatively recent years that it has been possible to approach the subject interpretatively. It is from this standpoint that Hiler makes his approach. He is not content to relate that various kinds of costume have been or are worn. He endeavours to discover why mankind has found pleasure or advantage in bedecking itself in a hundred different modes, and he seeks to show how these modes are related not only to man's material but to his spiritual and intellectual preoccupations and pursuits. The religions, the sciences and the arts are closely connected with the act of the first man and woman who, according to the Scriptural account, clad themselves in fig-leaves.

It would indeed be possible, though many volumes would be needed, to relate the whole history of mankind — and by history I mean man's spiritual progress as well as his material evolution — from the modifications that dress has undergone in all ages. Until the Great War — to give a concrete example — military trappings *were conspicuously coloured — mostly red. But it was discovered in the first months of the war that conspicuous colours doomed their wearers to destruction. They were an easy target for modern weapons ; and these modern weapons, in their turn, were the product of a complete transformation of industry and knowledge. A whole chapter, if not a whole book, which would set out the salient features of the past half century, could well be written on that simple fact. Again, there is an unquestionable relation, which I do not propose here to analyse, between the post-war feminine attire and the post-war morals. Like the naturalist who, given a single bone of an antidiluvian monster, could reconstruct the entire animal, so, I believe, it would not be inherently impossible to deduce the amazing series of events of the last score of years, the devastation of the war, the promiscuous cooperation of men and women, the sufferings and the forced gaieties, the financial upheavals, the changed outlook, from a gown or a shingled head. Hiler in his book does not bring us up to the modern world. That, I trust, is the task which he will hereafter undertake. He is concerned rather with the beginnings of things ; but from a flattened nose or an antique comb he deduces much that is of rare concern to us as men and women.*

The author is not a professional writer. He is an artist, and it was from the artistic angle that he first began to study costume. He quickly found that its implications were not exclusively pictorial, but that they embraced the whole range of human activities. He found, as he hints somewhere in these pages, that the earliest ornament was a token of man's desire to climb to a higher platform than that upon which he had been placed by nature — to become, in the phrase of Bernard Shaw (after Nietzsche) the Superman. Thus by external adornment he could repair the defects, as he became conscious of them, of his body and of his soul. Thus he could increase his stature. He could make himself at will better than the beast. He could win to emotions that he did not previously possess. He could *attain to a keener awareness of his nobility, of his capacity. He could make himself as a god.*

For when one considers the history of man as it is written in his raiment, one realises that its chief and incorrigible characteristic is man's desire to become better than at any particular moment he was. His conception of what is better may often be erroneous, but the aspiration is undying and was kindled in the earliest times. He wished to be in a better position to defend himself against the elements. He wished to become more handsome. He wished to correct the disadvantages of nudity imposed upon him by niggardly nature. He wished to acquire a sense of right and wrong — that is to say, a moral sense, for modesty is the mother of morality. He wished to shine in the eyes of his womenfolk, to indicate his consciousness of ownership. He wished to distinguish himself as warrior, as hunter, as priest, as King, in the eyes of his fellows. He wished to face his gods as a being not too far below them — a being who, by taking thought, by employing his imagination, by cunningly devising fitting apparel, had by his own efforts enhanced his dignity, and was entitled, while showing reverence to his gods, to show also reverence to himself, pride in his accomplishments, belief in his increasing strength, intelligence, and beauty — in short, unconquerable faith in his future.

Sisley HUDDLESTON.

FROM NUDITY TO RAIMENT

FOREWORD

As I write these words I have, on my left, within easy reach, eight wooden boxes covered with red cloth. Each of these boxes contains some eight hundred to a thousand cards and on each card is inscribed the general bibliographical data of a book or set of books, having to do with clothing or adornment.

These volumes vary in nature. The Satirical works of Swift and Carlyle are included. Remy de Gourmont's *Lilith* finds a place, under the heading of "Origin" near the more serious *opera* of Salomon Reinach, Westermarck, and Havelock Ellis. In box number one, are the rare *incunabula* printed by Richard Breton in 1567, or signed by Bertelli, Heldt, or Braun and Hogenberg, having been completed in the same century. In their places also are the latest publications of modes from London, New York and Paris, while a book on the art of shaving one's self which I indexed yesterday will soon have more modern companions as the subject shows no signs either of having been exhausted by its devotees or of losing any great measure of popularity among the *literati*. The stream of books while relatively thin is steady and unbroken.

It may be thus inferred that the bibliography of Costume is not a small one and perhaps even that additional volumes on the subject may be somewhat superfluous; yet recent researches and methods have developed a novel point of view and the newer sciences of anthropology, ethnology, and psychology permit of an approach quite different from the almost purely historical one employed practically without exception in the past.

Most general works on Costume begin with Ancient Egypt at a point where the present tome has the modesty to end, and indeed with good reason, for serious study of the primitive peoples has developed chiefly since the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, whilst Prehistory is in its infancy.

If this book has a *raison d'être* it must be claimed chiefly on the grounds that it fills a gap, and perhaps treats of the subject from a new angle. It is hoped that it may interest a public outside the realm of the artists and technicians to which works of this nature are usually confined... that it may prove a contribution, however slight, to the history of mankind in its first steps in the long journey towards civilization, and help to place Costume in its proper position amongst the conventional arts — a place which I believe has generally been far too long denied it.

The adornment of the human body is certainly among the oldest of humanity's aesthetic activities and forms with dancing, music, poetry, and savage ceremonial, as Havelock Ellis justly claims, a foundation which "furnished the beginnings of the most exquisite arts of civilization". The primitives in changing the appearance, and often enough, even the form of their physical selves, thus, perhaps subconsciously, distinguished themselves more sharply from the animal world which surrounded them, and played such an important rôle in their lives — both materially and psychologically. Carlyle humorously defines man as "a clothed animal". No primitive aesthetic-religious-food-getting activities were ever carried on without that apparently necessary adjunct to the human ego which could only be provided by a change in the physical appearance, and it follows, in the Lotzean mental state influenced by adornment. Perhaps man's universal dissatisfaction with the niggardly aesthetic gifts of nature may be traced to a noble subconscious longing to become the super-man not only in fact but in appearance.

That Costume is in the nature of an attempt to add the unrealizable cubit to our stature and architecturally augment the stateliness and beauty of the human form has been interestingly shown by the German architect Gottfried Semper whose writings on the subject have unfortunately, as far as I am able to ascertain, never been published, but exist in the original manuscript in the Art Library of the South Kensington Museum. Semper's theories are subtly influenced and modified by the natural anthropological characteristics of the different races, and by their environment. An excellent illustration of the workings of these forces may be found in Ancient Egypt.

The slim Egyptian, in his white clothing, moving against a background of brilliant vegetation or polychrome architecture, is a splendid example of the propriety of the thing to the place. "The art of a country" says Flinders Petrie, "like the character of its inhabitants, belongs to the nature of the land. The climate, the scenery, the contrasts of each country, all clothe the artistic impulse as diversely as they clothe the people themselves". When the clothing forms are allowed to work themselves out without foreign influences, not only does this seem to be the case, but the nature of the art forms seems to be influenced by the bodily architecture and proportion of the peoples under discussion. The climate of Egypt is not very different, as far as temperature is concerned, from that of the Euphrates valley, yet the heavily built Asiatics surround themselves with heavy clothing and architectural forms. Like all generalizations, this idea is dangerous, yet other examples of similar comparisons come easily to mind. Ripley, speaking of the Basque fashions of shaving, says "all this fits perfectly with much of the evidence brought forward by Westermarck, in his *History of Human Marriage*, serving to show that the fashions in adornment which prevail among various peoples are largely determined by the characteristics they naturally possess."

What is true of fashions of adornment may easily be true of clothing, though to a lesser degree for obvious reasons. Compare the French and German dress of the Renaissance, or certain of the Khazar influences brought with them by the Russian Jewess to America, with the fashions as previously existing there. Elliot Smith cites this stress of natural characteristics as the reason for the popularity of the conventional dynastic representation of the Egyptian wearing "chin-beard only, often of exaggerated dimensions", for he says the Proto-Egyptian was endowed with a respectable growth of beard only upon the chin.

BODILY ARCHITECTURE AND COSTUME. — If, then, the theory of a given costume to the architecture of a given human body be admitted, it is interesting to note the forms taken by this clothing in direct aesthetic relation to the human form.

Semper gives three main principles by which the human figure may be ornamented. To summarize, his ideas are as follows.

Man should be aesthetically considered, neither in outline nor in mass as a visual image, but as a solid body activated by three forms corresponding to the three dimensions; first, the force of gravity, or weight, which acts from top to bottom, and retains him to the earth; second, the vegetative force, or force of growth which is independent of his will and which operates, also vertically, from bottom to top; third, the force of voluntary activity, which gives the body a movement towards a given point, imposed by the will. The first two forces, weight and growth, are diametrically opposed and it is this conflict which determines character, form and grace. But because of the law of inertia, weight also offers a resistance to the third force, that of voluntary activity, as it does to the second force, that of growth. Fourth, we have a superior unity, the cardinal point of the being, the idea which, harmonizing these diverse forces, can make them capable of expression and the manifestation of beauty.

The primary condition of an active and durable existence is that the three inter-acting forces should be in equilibrium. If man had only developed the vegetative force, like a tree, he would develop in height, and the masses would coil themselves around the trunk obeying the laws of equilibrium. If the axis of growth coincided with the axis of movement, as is the case with a fish, an exact balance of the masses around this axis of direction would be necessary in order to avoid an involuntary deviation of movement. But Man participates simultaneously in these two systems. He develops vertically, as the tree, and moves horizontally, as the fish. The result is that he is independent of the rigorous law of equilibrium, in the vertical and forward and backward directions. It is only from right to left, or from left to right, that symmetry, as a static condition, must inevitably obey the laws of equilibrium. This axis of symmetry, which is horizontal, cuts the axis of direction, also horizontal, at right angles, and the axis of growth, which is vertical.

Thus we have three forces, or axes, which correspond in the human figure to the three dimensions of space, these three forces correspond to three sorts of ornament which Semper calls respectively, pendicle, annular, and (for want of a better term) ornaments of direction. In order that beauty should manifest itself in man, it is necessary that these different centres of action reflect themselves externally in a manner perceptible to the eye.

The pendicles are related to the first force, weight, and establish the stability of the body. They should be essentially symmetrical; the conception of a single earring or two hanging ornaments of an unequal length or weight is, architecturally, difficult. The aesthetic effect of these ornaments is augmented by the moral reaction exerted upon the person of the wearer: he is obliged to exercise a certain moderation in his movements, thus leading towards a dignity of attitude. The rigid hanging forms represented by the hair and beard of the Pharaohs belong to this category.

The annular, or peripheric form of ornament, serves to accentuate the proportions of the individual; it marks the centre around which it is worn, and its principal object, the head, is the symbol of the man in his entirety. Crowns, diadems and bandeaux, sometimes accented by a symmetric repetition of motif, fall into this class of ornament. The collar, marking the transition of the head to the shoulders, so important among body ornaments, and the tight belt, marking the junction of the torso and the nether limbs, as well as the bracelets, anklets, and rings, which bring out the fine proportions of the extremities, complete this list.

Liberty and spontaneity of movement attach themselves to an ornament which has the accentuation of them as its *raison d'être*. It is distinguished from the two aforementioned groups in that it is neither rhythmic nor symmetric. It is based upon the contrast of the front to the rear, and should be designed primarily to be seen in profile. This form or ornament may be divided into two types, fixed and floating. The former is well exemplified by the royal *uraeus,* which decorates the foreheads of the Egyptian God-kings while the floating type is to be seen in the materials of the coiffure of warriors. The lightness of the materials of this latter type renders them mobile, and allows them to express the general direction of the motion of the individual.

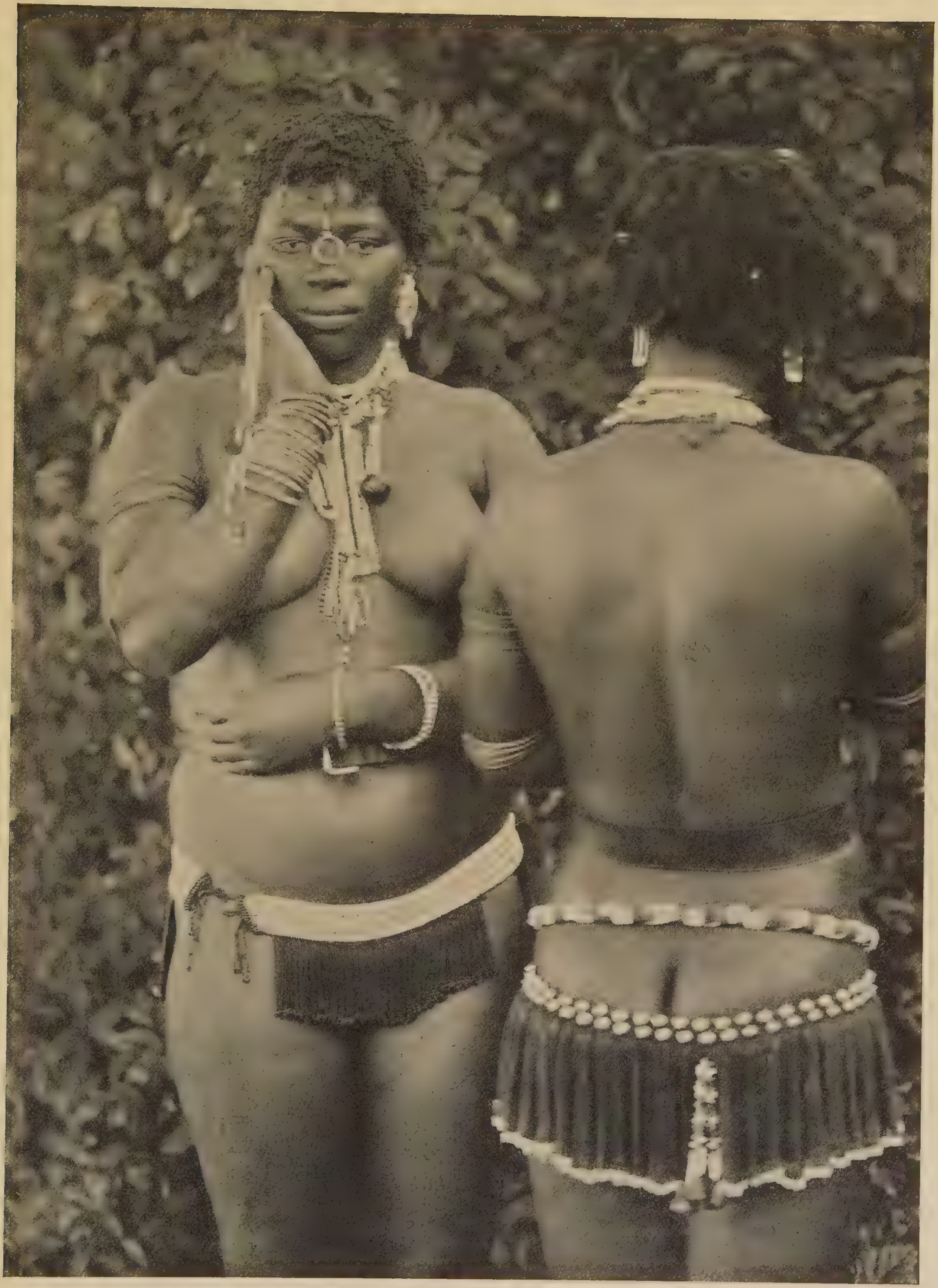
Semper's aesthetic metaphysics are most conspicuous when costume is free from economic influences and at the height of a conventionally artistic style wave. At times they may be remarked side by side with a survival of features to which other influences seem to have given birth. Thus in the aesthetically architectural coiffure of the kings of Egypt the primitive desire to inspire fear — the *Schreckschmuck* of Grosse may persist as in the ram's horns, which appear again on the medals of Alexander where he is shown as the son of Jupiter-Ammon.

In relation to these theories the activities of primitive peoples regarding self decoration show, as might be expected, the richness and variety of form inherent in the experimental early stages of an art. The various ornaments take on the most fantastic and variable forms, which are in most cases exceedingly difficult if not impossible to explain. Yet in many cases their beauty and propriety are unquestionable.

A Hawaiian chief's helmet illustrated in connection with Chapter Three seems to follow every rule of the so-called Dynamic Symmetry of the Greeks. The Ethnological importance of such a piece is not to be underestimated, for the two possible explanations of its form take us into the heart of the now lively discussions being carried on by rival schools of Ethnologists as to whether culture was distributed by contact of one locality with another, or instinctively "spontaneously developed" separately for each locality.

In such discussion costume and ornament play a primary rôle. Mr. Perry attributes his hypothetical wanderings of the peoples who spread certain fundamental cultural characteristics to explorations in search of precious life-giving substances which were eventually destined to be made into Amulets and worn upon the person. One authority believes that the invention of metallurgy may have been due to "man's vanity and desire for display". Another stresses the dependence upon costume of what civilized peoples call love. Such things I believe lend sufficient importance and interest to our subject to justify the treatment which, I hope with due humility, I have attempted to give it.

I wish to extend a hearty thanks to Dr. G. M. Veevers of the Zoological Society of London, Dr. G. Elliot Smith, Prof. Dr. Preuss of the Museum für Volkerkunde of Berlin, Dr. W. C. Orchard of the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, Dr. Brunner of the Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde, Dr. Paul Rivet of the Laboratoire d'Anthropologie, M. l'Abbé Breuil, Dr. Salomon Reinach of the Musée de St. Germain-en-Laye, Dr. Paul Verneau and M. Daniel Real of the Musée du Trocadéro, M. Perony of the prehistoric Museum at Les Eyzies, M. Victor Forbin, K. M. Martindell of the Royal Anthropological Institute, M. Raoul d'Harcourt, Jane M. McHugh of the University of Pennsylvania Museum and Prof. Frank G. Speck who foolishly aroused my youthful interest in the science of anthropology, Dr. Wolfgang Bruhn of the Lipperheide Costume Library and many others.



ZULU MAIDENS WITH FRINGED GIRDLE, COWRE SHELL DECORATION.

Pl. I.

I.

THE ORIGIN OF CLOTHING.

> "The modesty of animals is a fancy. Like modesty among humans, it is merely the mask of fear, the crystallization of timorous habits, necessitated by the animals being unarmed during coupling."
>
> (Remy de Gourmont. *Physique de l'Amour.*)

> "It is clear that three parts of modesty are taught... It is modesty that gives to love the aid of the imagination, and in so doing imparts life to it."
>
> (Stendhal. *De l'Amour.*)

> "It is well known to all painters and sculptors who have used the nude model (except a few shady pretenders, whose purity, not being of the right sort, has gone rank from too much watching) that nothing is so chaste as nudity. Venus herself as she drops her garments and steps upon the model throne, leaves behind her on the floor every weapon in her armoury by which she can pierce to the grosser passions of men."
>
> (Du Maurier. *Trilby.*)

> "The greatest provocations of lust are from our apparel."
>
> (Burton. *Anatomy of Melancholy.*)

There are many interesting theories concerning the origin of clothing, but no one theory which thoroughly and without qualification covers the case. It therefore seems best to give some of the better known ones and to let the reader draw his conclusions.

The economic theory. — Clothing as a protection against the elements.

According to the Ancient Chinese mythology, Pan-Kou or Hon-Tun (primordial Chaos) the first man and emperor, "Orderer of the World" whence his other name Yu-Chi), commenced his action when the heavens and earth were separated, that is to say 129,600 years ago. This time is divided into twelve parts of 10,800 years each, called conjunctions. It was only at the end of the seventh conjunction that human beings ceased to inhabit the caverns, and that one saw the commencement of the reign of a great number of kings, the initiators of civilization and the empire of Man over Nature. During the eighth period men *covered themselves with vestments of leaves;* serpents and animals existed in great numbers, the waters had not yet subsided; men were miserable. *Then they covered themselves with the skins of beasts to preserve themselves from the cold and winds.* They were called "The Men Dressed in Skins" (Pauthier, "*Chine*", p. 63.)

The early Greek commentators also held the ancient theory that man adopted clothing as a protection against the elements, and Lucretius set it forth in a long poem based upon Greek sources (1).

Gerald Heard says : "As Life kept man from growing his weapons on himself so that he might become not merely a Briareus but *homo ferox,* become at a moment *homo faber,* so it stripped him of his thin pelt and left him with a wilted fibrous crest." Carlyle distinguishes man as a "Naked Animal", and Heard interestingly adds that "the simians, the nearer they approach man, lose any pretentions to beauty of coat" (2). In view of the fact that man had a tropic or subtropic origin, it would not appear that a natural protective covering was needed. According to Darwin, man lost his coat of hair for aesthetic reasons, the members of one sex having chosen as mates those of the other who were the least hairy.

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(1) *De Rerum Natura* — Sir Robert Allison's translation, (London, 1919).
...Not yet they knew of fire, not yet to use the skins of wild beasts, and to clothe their frame with spoils won from them ; etc.

(2) An Arab traveller says that the African Pygmies were so hairy that they were like felt to the touch. The *Enc. Americana* states that one of their characteristics is "unusually heavy growth of hair on body and face." Ctesias reports of the Pygmaei of India "that they had hair and beards so long as to serve for vesture."

The Patagonians living in a cold climate wear only a patch of skin which they occasionally shift to the windward, perhaps the purest example of protective origin to be found. Nevertheless, Charles Darwin speaks of seeing Fuegians standing naked while the driving sleet froze upon their bodies, seemingly causing them little or no inconvenience.

African Safari porters, when carrying heavy loads through the heat of the day, wear all the clothing they possess, including coats and breeches borrowed from the white man, but in the cool of the evening, when camp is reached, they strip themselves stark naked.

"It is evident", says Havelock Ellis (*Psychology of Sex*) "that, in the beginning, protection is to little or no extent the motive for attaching foreign substances to the body. Thus the tribes of central Australia wear no clothes, although they often suffer from the cold". The *Encyclopedia Americana* states, "It must be observed that our earliest indications on the subject (costume) come from warm and semi-tropical countries, thus eliminating, as far as possible, the factor in the development of clothes, which originates in the necessity of protection against the weather.

Carlyle in his *Sartor Resartus,* put the following words into the writings of his fictitious authority on clothing, Diogenes Teufelsdröckh : "Miserable indeed was the condition of the Aboriginal Savage glaring fiercely from under his fleece of hair which, with the beard, reached down to his loins, and hung about him like a matted cloak; the rest of his body sheeted in its thick natural fell... The pains of hunger and revenge once satisfied, his next care was not comfort but decoration (Putz). Warmth he found in the toils of the chase, or amid dried leaves, in his hollow tree... or natural grotto; but for Decoration he must have clothes. Nay, among wild people we find tattooing and painting even prior to Clothes. The first spiritual want of barbarous man is Decoration, as indeed we still see among barbarous classes in civilized countries."

The Mosaic theory. — "And the eyes of both of them were opened, and they knew they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons, unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins and clothed them". The Biblical version implies that costume originated because of an innate human instinct of modesty or "decency" leading man to adopt a bodily covering through a sense of shame (3). This theory seems to have held from the time of the Roman Empire until to-day. Wooliscroft Rhead in his book *Chats on Costume* (London, 1910) clings to an identical theory and gives it as the main cause of the adaptation of a bodily covering (4).

Ellis (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*) says : "Modesty may be provisionally defined as an almost instinctive fear prompting to concealment and usually centering around the sexual process..." Further : "I have sought to emphasize the unquestionable, but often forgotten fact, that modesty is, in its origin, independent of clothing, that physiological modesty takes precedence of anatomical modesty and that the primary factors of Modesty were certainly developed long before the discovery of either ornament or garments." Yet he goes on to an analysis of modesty in which he shows by numerous examples that modesty can hardly be taken scientifically as a factor in the origin of clothing.

The conceptions of modesty vary markedly in different parts of the world. Many savage peoples have no conception of its existence as we understand it ; some tribes apparently taking pains to display those very portions of the anatomy which a modern European would be most anxious to conceal.

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(3) Lombroso and Ferrero (*La Donna Deliquente*) adopt the derivation of *pudor* from *puture* ; that is to say from the fear of disgust caused by the decomposition associated with certain natural functions of women, which is given as the sole origin of modesty among the females of the savage races as it is the sole form among some prostitutes to-day. (?)

The terms used in Indo-European languages to express nudity, come from the root *nag*, meaning "to have shame"... Sanscrit *nagna*, latin, *nudus*, gaelic, *nochd*, slav. *nang*, etc. (V. Pictet, *Origines indo-européennes*, vol. II, p. 154.)

(4) Saint Augustine (De Civitate Dei. Bk. XIV. Ch. XVII) says : "there began in the movement of their bodily members a shameless novelty which made nakedness indecent ; it at once made them observant and made them ashamed ;... and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons."

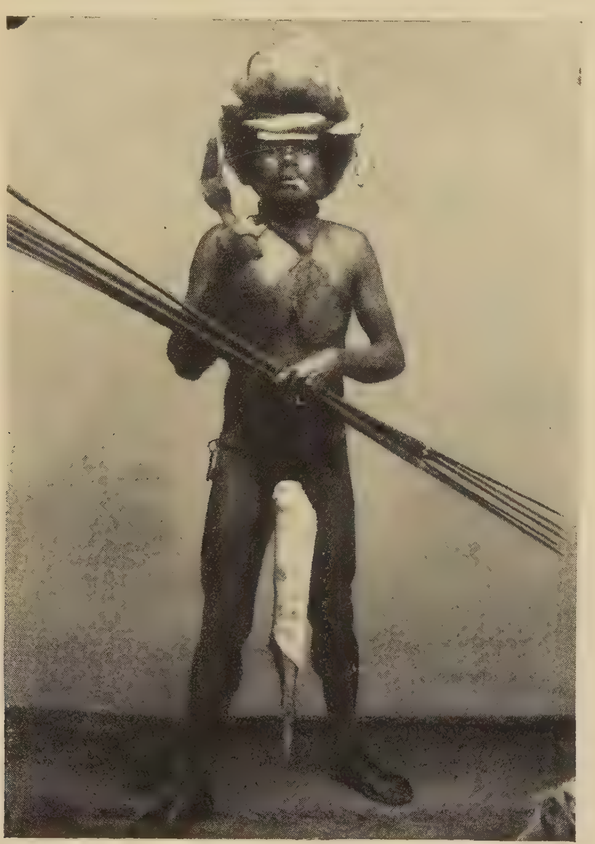

FIG. 1. — NATIVE OF NEW CALEDONIA.

Few Englishmen see anything indecent in the nude in Art but would be horrified at the idea of the sexes bathing together when nude. In Japan nothing immodest is found in the fact that the sexes bathe together in a state of absolute nudity, but any representation of the nude in art is considered indecent. Tribes which wear the most clothing are by no means the most moral or modest, for some African tribes wear their clothing in a way which could have nothing to do with modesty as we know it. In fact the quantity of clothing worn seems to be often enough in inverse ratio to modesty and morals.

THE THEORY OF POSSESSION. — Ratzel (5) (*The History of Mankind*, v. i. p. 93), explains the origin of clothing as having been brought about by the sense of possession felt by the man for the object of his affection "What is most decisive", he says, "is the observed fact that clothing stands in unmistakable relation to the sexual life, and that the first to wear complete clothes is not the man who has to dash through the bush in hunting, but the married woman. This gives us the primary cause of wrappings, which must have arisen when the family was evolved from the unregulated intercourse of the horde... (6), when man began to assert a claim to the individual and definite woman".

He goes on to say that the man forced the woman to have no dealings with other men, and to cover herself "as a means of diminishing her sex attraction" (a method of reasoning directly at variance with the theories which consider concealment as a stimulus). Further he claims that modesty sprang from the root, thus formed by the separation of the sexes. He explains the absence of clothing among certain tribes, by the fact that "the more confined and more destitute the life of a tribe is, the less inducement is given to a rigid separation of the sexes with its attendant jealousy; and the more readily do they dispense with the troublesome covering, of which scanty fragments alone remain", etc. Some forest tribes of Brazil, the Australians and Tasmanians, are mentioned as illustrations. This theory is open to many objections, most of which are, in the light of present ethnological research, too obvious to mention, among the more important however is the fact that we have no proof of the "decadence" or "degeneration" of the peoples mentioned, from an assumed former stage of higher culture.

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(5) This view was held by Waitz, Schurtz and Letourneau. Among the peoples of the New Hebrides the closest secrecy is adopted with regard to the penis, not at all from a sense of decency, but to avoid Narak, the *sight* even of that of another man being considered most dangerous. The natives of this savage island, accordingly, wrap the penis around with many yards of calico and other like materials, winding and folding them until a preposterous bundle 18 inches, or two feet long, and two inches or more in diameter is formed, which is then supported upward by means of a belt, the extremity being decorated with flowering grasses, etc... "The testicles are left naked." The bouquet described seems to be the only body covering in use. (Somerville, *Jour. of the Anth. Ins.* 1894, p. 368.)

(6) The hypothesis of promiscuity has been losing some of its popularity of late years. It must be left, at best, as controversial.

THE THEORY OF SEX ATTRACTION. — Westermarck, in his *History of Human Marriage,* although he does not entirely deny the possibility of economic influences, states that ornament preceded clothing and "we have every reason to believe that mere decorations have also developed into clothes." In brief, his theory is that clothing originated mainly "in the desire of men and women to make themselves mutually attractive". After giving many examples as proof, he adds : "Facts like these must certainly tend to discredit the popular view that modesty is the mother of clothing, and our confidence in it does not increase when we consider what sort of covering savages often use."

"There are certain things", says Montaigne, "which are hidden in order to be shown". And Ellis states that "There can be no doubt that the contention of Westermarck and others, that ornament and clothing were intended not to conceal or even to protect the body, but, in large part, to render it sexually attractive, is fully proved". He qualifies this by adding: "It is by no means a complete account of the matter." Grosse also holds that... "Coquetry is the Mother of Modesty (7)". Salomon Reinach (8), however, claims that these theories based upon sexual attraction are open to serious objections. "Although it appears sufficiently ingenious", he says, "this doctrine is incapable of supporting an examination. One may assuredly admit that a primitive aversion founded upon a religious prejudice becomes, during the centuries, a reasoned aversion, which seeks to authorize itself by a moral idea; as in the case of the horror inspired by incest. But to think that a sentiment (feeling) is capable of transforming itself into one diametrically opposed, that modesty was given birth to by a sort of exhibitionism, is, I believe, pushing the presumption too far... Moreover, without in the least assuming that the savage is degraded, one may doubt the *primitive* character of the facts mentioned by Grosse (9) (Westermarck and others), and above all abstain from drawing conclusions applicable to humanity as a whole.

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(7) Grosse. (*The Beginnings of Art,* Trans. N. Y. 1897.)

(8) Reinach. (*Cultes, Mythes et Religions,* v. i. 1922, p. 171 et seq.).

We therefore conclude that there is a *taboo* at the origin of the sentiment of modesty. The only very ancient tradition which seeks to explain the origin of this sentiment, that of the Mosaic books, attributes to it a religious character. Even in pagan antiquity the ideas of modesty and religion are next door neighbours. Whereas as far as the nature of the *taboo,* from which modesty is derived, is concerned, I dare say that Durkheim determined it happily, in recognising the *blood taboo* as a particular case. But the justice of his spirit suggested to him this solution which I find the most reasonable, and the least open to the fatal objections."

TOTEMISTIC THEORIES. — Crawley, in his *Mystic Rose* argues that tattooing, etc..., is not always for the sake of ornamentation, but is for the purpose of magically insulating certain organs tattooed, and is practically a permanent amulet or charm. Westermarck says : "It is true that the things which people attach to their bodies are not all ornaments even if they look as if they were. They may be trophies of war or of the chase, intended to show off strength, courage or skill, or substitutes for trophies having some resemblance to them. "But", he continues, "a recent American writer is certainly mistaken in his statement that when we subject the primitive custom of "ornamentation to a critical examination, we find in nearly every case it is either not at all or only indirectly connected with the relation of the sexes". The fact that ornamentation is practised chiefly in youth, and a study of the courtships of animals, in which they use their natural ornaments as attractions to the opposite sex, seem to some extent to discount totemistic theories and to support strongly the explanation of its origin upon sexual grounds (10).

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(9) An example of the nature of these facts is given by Brough Smith, who notes that in Australia "the women who are ordinarily nude, only don a skirt of feathers, descending to their knees, when about to indulge in their indecent dances... etc."

Both Totemism and Trophyism do exist as co-factors, and it is extremely difficult to state just how much they may or may not have figured in the adaptation of clothing. In the totemistic theory we have the origin of certain religious garments, while Trophyism may show the very early beginnings of caste in its relation to clothing.

THE THEORY OF AMULETS. — The Amuletic theory, as advanced by Elliot Smith, attributes the origin of clothing as a consequence of the wearing of "life giving substances" worn in the form of amulets because of supposedly magical properties which they possessed (G. Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon,* pp. 153, Manchester 1918). He bases his conclusions on the fact that ethnological evidence proves that the wearing of clothes is in no way natural to man, and that the earliest form of ornament was in the form of charms, such as the cowrie shells worn in the Soudan and elsewhere by women to give them fertility (11).

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(10) The male Argus Pheasant, noted for the extreme beauty of his plumage, shows himself off before the female by erecting his tail and expanding his magnificent wing feathers...

The bullfinch makes his advances in front of the female and then puffs out his breast so that many more of the crimson feathers are seen than would otherwise be the case... The males of certain baboon species are said to turn their coloured surfaces to the females. (Darwin).

(11) In a prehistoric burial at Laugerie Basse, in France, certain cowrie shells from the Indian Ocean were distributed about the body, two at the forehead, one by each arm and four at the knees, in an obviously purposive arrangement. The reason why the cowrie shell was selected as such a powerful "giver of life" is explained (*The Evolution of the Dragon,* p. 150) as follows : "If the loss of blood was at first the only recognized cause of death, the act of birth was clearly the only process of life-giving. The portal by which a child entered the world

An aesthetic theory. — Aesthetics as an instinct, distinct from sex, may be remarked as existing even amongst some of the lower animals and birds. A crow, jackdaw or Australian Bower bird will collect shiny or otherwise attractive objects, and monkeys do much the same thing, even showing quite distinct preferences for certain colours (12). It may be within the bounds of

was regarded, therefore, not only as the channel of birth, but also as the actual giver of life. The large Red Sea cowrie shell, which closely simulates this "giver of life", then came to be endowed by the popular imagination with the same powers. Hence the shell was used in the same way as ochre or carnelian : it was placed in the grave to confer vitality on the dead, and worn on bracelets and necklaces to secure good luck by using the "giver of life" to avert the risk of danger to life..." It became an amulet surrogate to the life giving organ, and worn suspended as close to it as possible to increase the fertility of women and aid them in childbirth, etc..

(12) A young female Patas monkey (*Cercopithecus patas*) in my possession almost invariably chooses red pencils from a box containing over twenty-five different colours which were always exposed in the studio.

Experiments performed upon Apes in the London Zoo, by Dr. G. M. Vevers, in conjunction with the author, gave very positive and interesting results. The materials used were of the simplest ; consisting merely of six small wooden blocks about two inches square covered with cotton cloth, and six pieces of the same cloth about twelve inches long and nine inches wide. The colours used were a prismatic red, vermilion, (5R 4/10 of the Munsell Colour System) yellow, zinc yellow, (Y 8/9) blue, cobalt, (PB 3/9) green, emerald, (5 G 5/7), and black and white. Arthur and Sally, the two most intelligent members of the group, were the first subjects for our experiments. First the covered blocks were placed in the cage and the male, Arthur, was allowed to enter. No matter in what order the blocks were arranged, he methodically picked them up, beginning at one end of a row and ending at the other. When they were arranged so as to form a solid square he picked them up beginning at one corner. No attention was apparently paid to the colours, Jimmy, a Baby male chimpanzee, behaved similarly. With the females it was quite a different story. Sally, Arthur's cage-mate, showed a distinct and unerring preference for red and yellow, white, green and blue being the next most popular shades, in the order named. She seemed to be much contented with the coloured cloths trying them between the light and her eyes, placing them upon her head and holding them against her breast. Experiments performed with Daisy, an older female, yielded the same result. Black was obviously unpopular with them as well as with Murphy, a young Orang-Outang, who showed no other preferences. The general conclusions to be drawn from the results of a series of experiments might be loosely stated as follows. Male Chimpanzees apparently show much weaker colour reactions than the females. The females prefer red and yellow to any other colours, and seem to take a certain pleasure in the contact of these and other brilliant hues. Black is universally ignored by the apes of both sexes. The stronger sensibility to colour on the part of the females is not easily explained, although it fits in well enough with the theory holding in many other branches of the animal kingdom including the Mandrils, and Man, that colours are apparently displayed by the males and appreciated by the females who may be endowed with superior powers of discrimination in connection with the laws of natural selection.

possibility that a similar predilection prompted human beings to carry about some attractive object such as a brightly coloured feather or shining sea shell (13). The former might have been stuck in the hair as a convenient method of transport, while the latter might have been hung about the neck. Body painting, for instance, may have originated in any or all of the following ways :

1. As a means of sex attraction.
2. As a protection against insects.
3. As an aesthetic experience. The bright blue colour of woad (a substance used by the ancient Britons for painting the body) may have been accidentally discovered and having such a strong

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Dr. Wolfgang Kohler in his book *The Mentality of Apes* (London, 1925), says that Chimpanzees are fond of carrying about different objects in a manner which suggests strongly some connection with human adornment... "Almost daily", he states (p. 95), "the animals can be seen walking about with a rope, a bit of rag, a blade of grass or a twig on their shoulders. If Tschego (one of the apes) was given a metal chain, she would put it round her neck immediately... In addition, string and pieces of rag are generally to be seen hanging in long strings over their shoulders to the ground from both sides of the neck" Dr. Kohler attributes this behaviour to the play instinct, for he says that when they are at play "their pleasure is visibly increased by draping things round themselves. "It is true", he continues, "that one often sees apes walking about alone and yet draped, but even on these occasions, it is mostly impishly self-important or audacious, as on the occasion when a decorated chimpanzee, with all signs of being in the best of tempers will strut about among his companions or advance upon them menacingly." This personal decoration on the part of the Chimpanzees was often accompanied by a sort of a dance in which they formed a rude circle and went through a kind of rhythmic stamping ! "No observer", he adds, "can escape the impression... (that) the objects hanging about the body serve the function of *adornment* (the italics are Dr. Kohler's) in the widest sense." "The trotting about of the apes with objects hanging round them not only looks funny, it also seems to give them a naive pleasure... based entirely on the *heightened bodily consciousness of the animal... When anything moves with our bodies we feel richer and more stately*." These interesting observations are supplemented with others along the same lines, including a sort of accidentally arrived-at body painting.

The author once observed an Orang-Outang in the London Zoo wrap itself in a newspaper which happened to be in its cage, being careful that the side towards the windward was well protected. Kohler also gives examples of the use of leaves and grasses as protection.

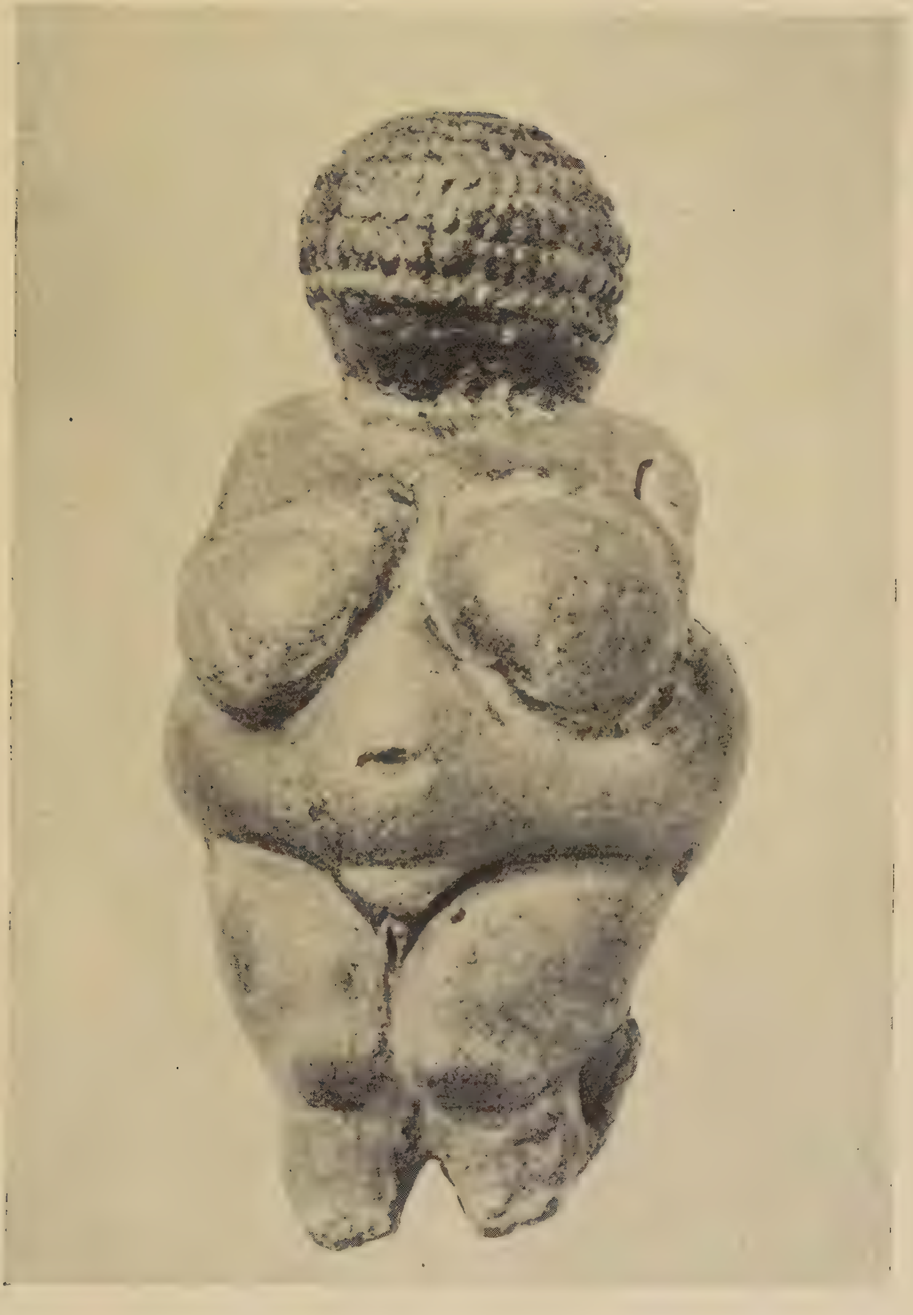
(13) The propensity of children for "dressing up" can hardly be explained upon sexual grounds although in some cases it amounts almost to a mania. Stanley Hall in a report based on returns from almost a thousand persons, mostly teachers, states that among the three main functions of clothes, protection, ornament, and Lotzean "self-feeling"... the second is by far the most conspicuous in childhood, a fact which corresponds very well with the primitive attitude.

attraction as bright colours sometimes have with primitive man, that it led the discoverer to smear it freely upon his person through a purely aesthetic affection for the colour.

4. As a protection against evil spirits, or for other reasons connected with superstition.

5. As a satisfaction of the Ego. In order to impress his fellows, setting the wearer apart, and thus appealing to his imagination.

Westermarck's theory seems to advance the best explanation, but, as Ellis says, it is by no means a complete statement of the case. The modifying influences mentioned should at all times be borne in mind.



LIMESTONE FEMALE FIGURINE, FROM WILLENDORF, (AUSTRIA) AURIGNACIAN.

Known as the "Venus of Willendorf". The actual figure is about four and one-half inches in height. A bracelet is indicated by a row of coarse dots, in the fore arm. Note coiffure. Figurines of this type have led to the conclusion that there may be some connection between Aurignacian and North African art.

PL. II.

.II.

PREHISTORIC DRESS

> Of the biological inventions of the past, four were made before the dawn of history. I refer to the domestication of animals, the domestication of plants, the domestication of fungi for the production of alcohol, and to a fourth invention which I believe was of more ultimate and far reaching importance than any of these, since it altered the path of sexual selection, focussed the attention of man as a lover upon woman's face and breasts, and changed our idea of beauty from the steatopygous Hottentot to the modern European, from the Venus of Brassempouy to the Venus of Milo. There are certain races which have not yet made this last invention.
>
> J. B. S. Haldane "Daedalus".

Clothing and fire were the two most important discoveries of Palæolithic times. Their use allowed man a freedom of movement geographically, which obviously would have been impossible otherwise.

Fire founded the family. It was a factor of such tremendous psychological and practical importance that its influence can scarcely be exaggerated. The fire clothing complex, with its religious, social, and sexual influences and reactions, formed the foundations upon which the entire cultural structure of Palæolithic man rested. Although the origins of both fire and clothing are too remote to permit conjecture as to the period responsible for the discovery of either, certain more or less well established factors in the life of human and even prehuman creatures may have influenced the adoption of clothing to an extent which warrants their discussion.

THE BIRTH OF AESTHETICS. — The aesthetics of monkeys and birds already have been remarked upon and it is more than possible that their arboreal manner of life is responsible for these peculiarities. That man and his immediate forerunners were arboreal there is little doubt, and some authorities claim that an arboreal method of living continued as late as Chellean times (1).

The developments of this environment are fully evidenced in remote reminiscences still existing in man's anatomical and mental structure. In the tree-tops, man lost, to a large extent, his sense of smell, but he developed remarkable visual powers. Such an existence demanded an agility and quickness of action which served to coordinate the hand and brain and develop the posterior and lateral portions of the latter organ. The specialization of sight awakens curiosity to examine objects with greater minuteness and guides the hand to more precise and skilled movements. Aesthetics and a possibility of their satisfaction were thus inter-evolved through environment.

Arboreal man was diurnal in his habits because his excellent visual capacities could best be employed in the daylight (2). In the darkness the hunter was hunted. The beginnings of imagination may have consisted in distortions or enlargements of some of the more striking images encountered by the retina during the day.

(1) See Capitan, *La Préhistoire,* p. 80, after De Mortillet.

(2) The author considers untenable the contrary opinions held by certain students of the subject.

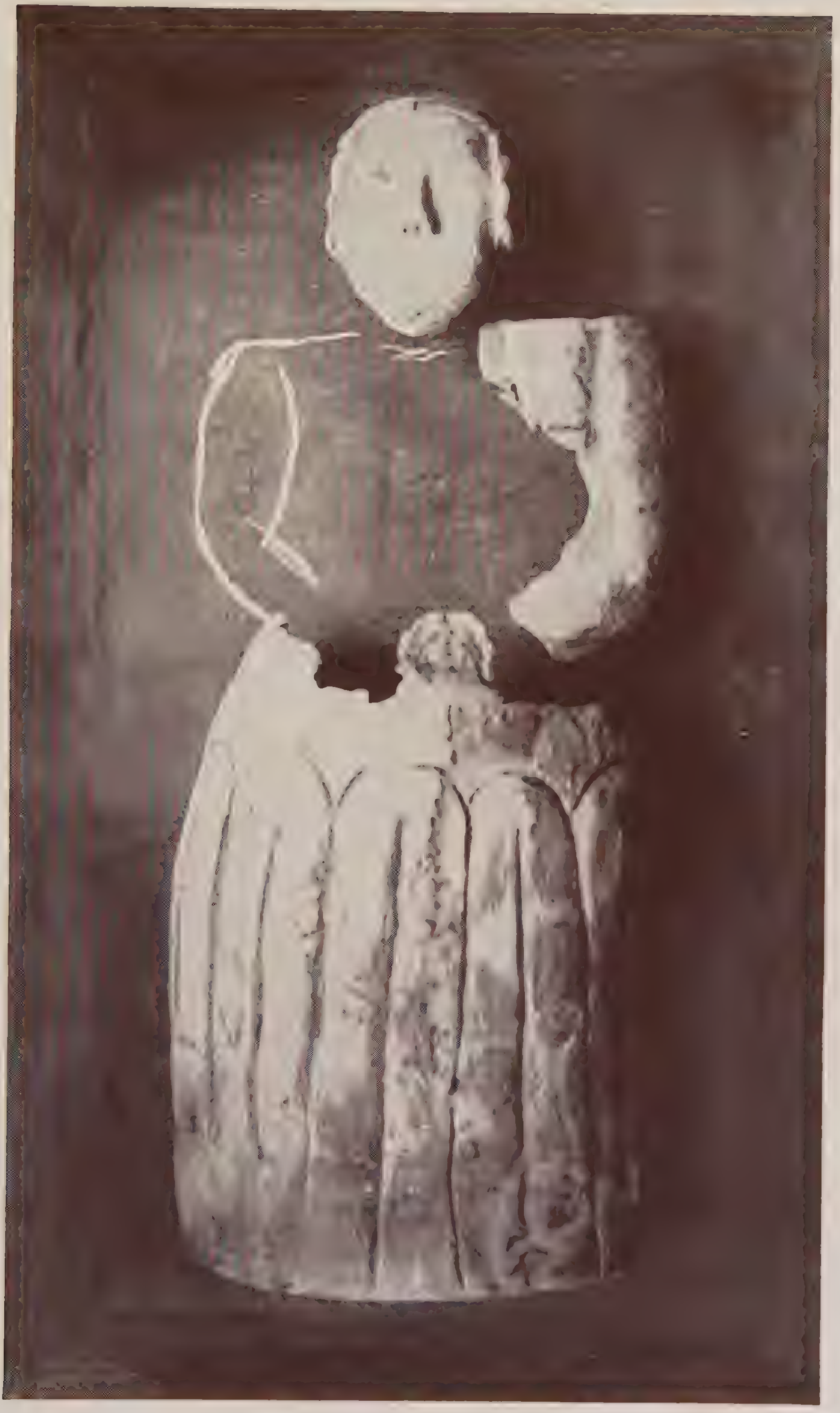


FIGURE OF PRIEST (?) FROM TARXIEN, MALTA.
(The Royal Anthr. Institute, London.)

See caption page 18.

At night the primitive forest was alive with creeping, crawling and gliding creatures. It reverberated with the vocal activities of a well assorted but unfriendly fauna. Man slept fitfully and dreamt of falling ; still an extremely common motif for dreams. Great felines showed their two lamps in the pitch dark abyss beneath the interlacing boughs. Darkness and horror became inseparable associations in the primitive mentality.

Man's courage rose with the sun, his friend, protector and ally. His first aesthetics were doubtless in the form of a violent attraction exercised by those objects which reflected or held its rays. Brightness and shininess were desirable perhaps because they held out vaguely the fascinating promise of fire.

Many objects in the form of trilobite and brilliant mineral fragments have been found in association with human remains, in quaternary deposits, under such circumstances that their presence in the given locality could only be explained as having resulted from human agency.

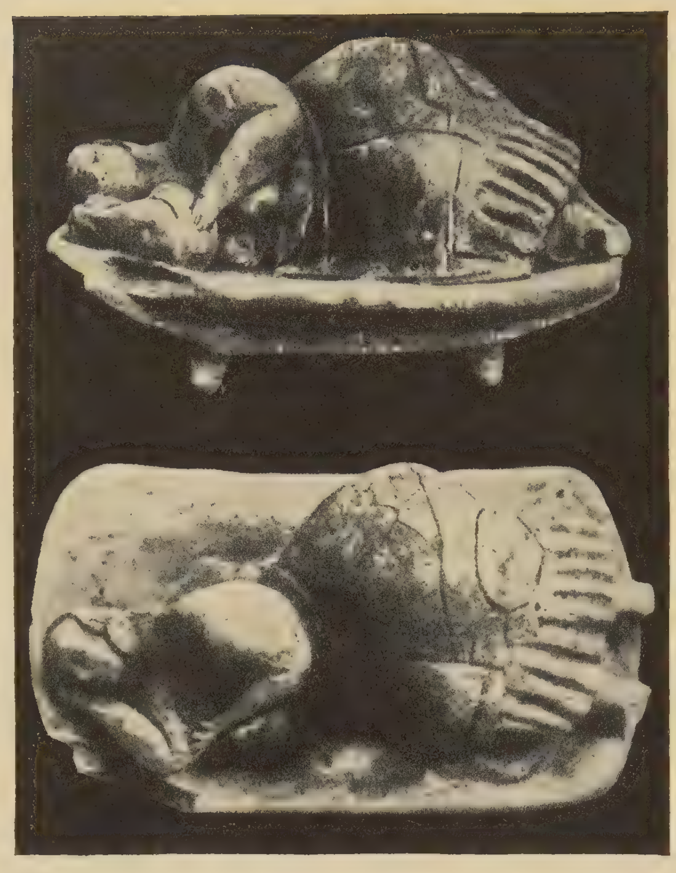
THE OLD STONE AGE. — All discussion of Palæolithic clothing must be conjectural. Two main sources of material upon which to base conjectures exist : first, cultural data associated with osseous remains of undoubted antiquity ; second, a study of conditions under which primitive peoples in a similar stage of culture lived and, in some parts of the world, are still living.

Concerning Palæolithic times our evidence unfortunately is slight. This gives rise to the interesting, if somewhat fantastic, reconstructions indulged in by students of the subject.

Such ratiocinations are almost without exception unsatisfactory. It is perhaps more profitable to discuss some of the salient facts which probably had the most direct relation to activities influencing costume, and allow the reader to evolve his own theories according to the dictates of his ethnological fancy.

NEOLITHIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HUMAN FIGURE FROM THE ISLANDS OF MALTA AND GOZO. (By the Hon. T. Zamitt, Rector of the University of Malta, and Ch. Singer. *Jour. Royal Anth. Ins. of G. B. and Ireland*. V. LIV, plate XII, 1924.)

Fig. 2



Two lifelike reclining female figures, which the JOURNAL connects with the idea of Temple Sleep or Incubation (?) An immensely stout woman clasping a cubical pillow with the right hand: "is naked above the waist; a little distance below the umbilicus the skirt is suspended from a broad rolled upper border and descends from there to the ankles. Above the umbilicus the body appears to be cut into by a tight girdle hidden in the folds of flesh, but indicated by an incised line around the body." (fig. 2)

Figure of Priest (?) and heads. "At Tarxien a part of the sanctuary is shut off from the remainder... There are indications that the section thus separated from the main building was put to a use different from that of the remainder. It was, perhaps, a specially holy place to which only the priest or official was in the habit of penetrating". The figures found here roughly but realistically wrought of unbaked clay differed from the other objects

(Continued on next page)

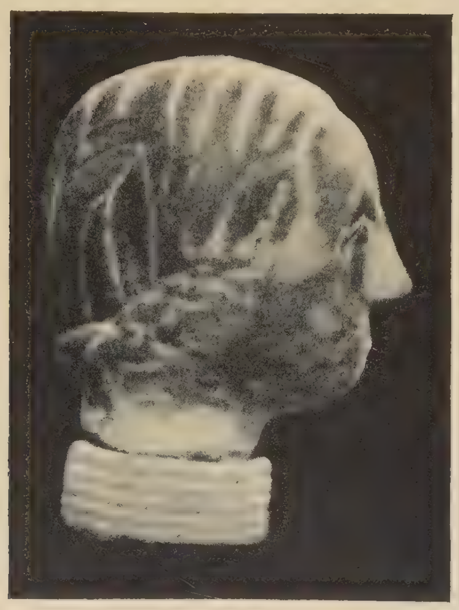


Fig. 3

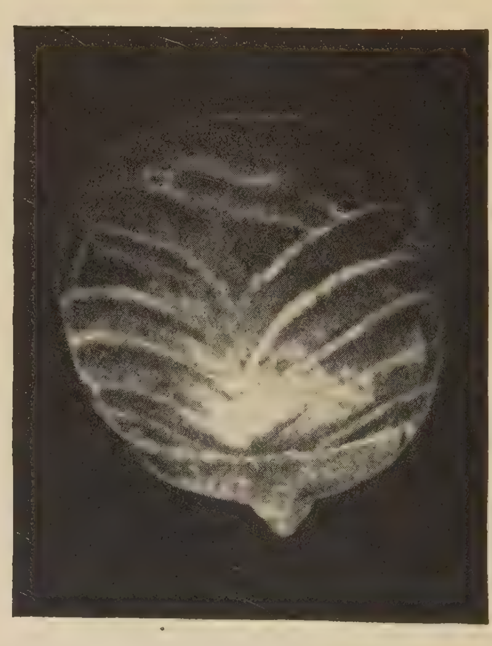


Fig. 4

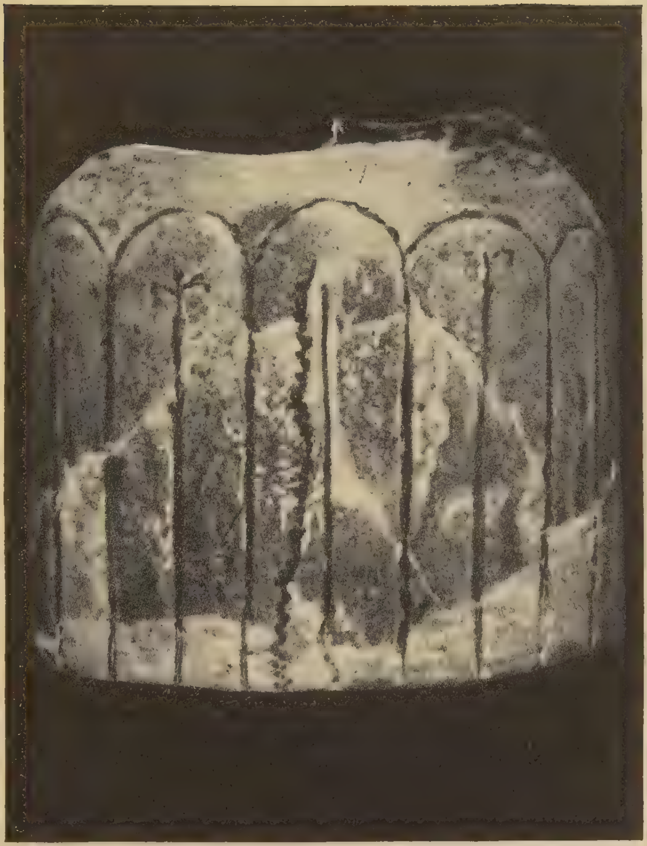
which were found. "They are clothed in robes reaching from neck to feet with pleated skirts. Two heads have survived complete but detached from the statues. There is nothing to indicate the sex of the statues themselves, but one at least, of the heads, is surely a portrait and represents a male. Remains of two or three of these statues have been encountered. They are hollow and possibly had removable heads like those of the sacred images." (See plate p. 20).

The head dress is striking and appears to be a wig not dissimilar to that used by a modern English barrister. There is a small central straight fringe above the forehead, and extending from the back of this is something in the nature of a net which covers the upper part of the head". (fig. 3, 4, 6 & 7)

The adiposity (not steatopygous) of the figures is assumed to represent the fatness which comes from power and wealth and is associated with the idea of fertility..." A similarity of attributes with the Cretan civilization is remarked but not stressed, however attention is called to the fact that.. (speaking of the well known tightly laced figures from Crete) "in both cases we have the small waist, exaggerated bust and hips, hollow back and closely fitting skirt dependent from an upper rolled border".

The Maltese representations are infinitely more crudely executed. (fig. 5.)

Fig. 5



Conventionalized representation of pleated skirt. Found at Tarxien, Malta.

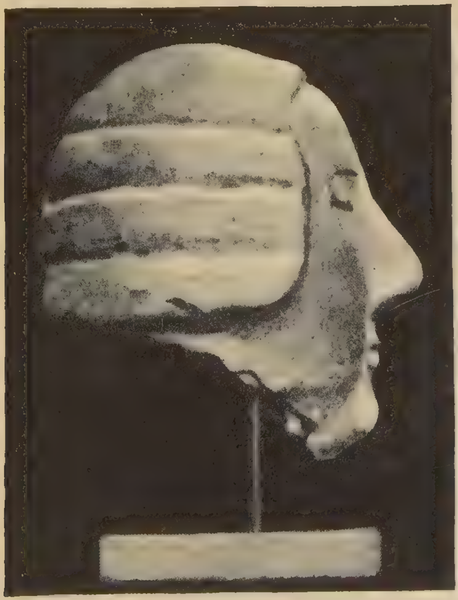


Fig. 6

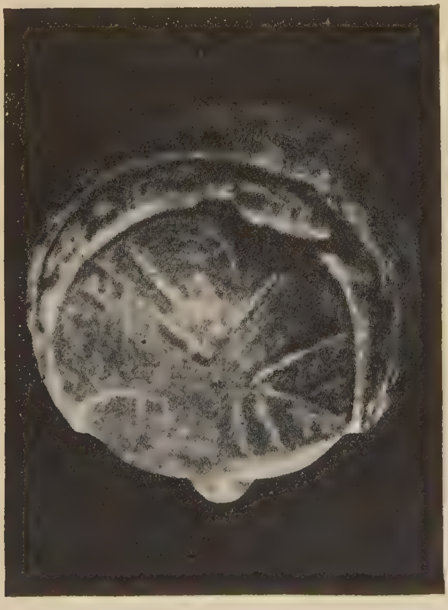


Fig. 7

The earliest man-like remains are those of the *Pithecanthropus erectus* found at Trinil, Java. Their age is roughly estimated at about a half million years. No implements or other signs of an intelligent mental activity were found in their vicinity, but if the Eoliths, as the oldest stones which may have been used as tools are called, are in reality of human design, some of them may have been contemporary with the Java Ape-Man. Thus it is within the bounds of possibility that he may have been a tool-user. It is probable that a period of wooden implements preceded the use of stone. Ornament may be at least as old as stone-tools. Reconstructions of the Ape-Man-who-walked-erect usually show him as an extremely hairy creature; as his environment was tropical in nature, his need for protective clothing would have been nil, yet he may have had the first crude form of ornament.

There is an extremely long gap between the time at which the *Pithecanthropus* was supposed to have existed, and the period of the next human remains, those of the man called *Homo Heidelbergiensis.* These were discovered at Mauer, near Heidelberg, Germany. This type of man is supposed to have lived between 100,000 and 250,000 years ago.

Roughly of the same period, although generally considered more recent, — students of prehistory cannot seem to agree as to chronology — are the remains of *Eoanthropus,* found in a deposit of flint bearing gravels at Piltdown, Sussex, England. The Heidelberg and the Piltdown men probably, as most authorities claim, belong to the period known as the Pre-Chellean.

Instruments considered as undoubtedly of human origin have been found in deposits of this period. The jaw of the Heidelberg Man, seen from the side, is distinctly simian in character; looked at from above it is an extremely powerful jaw. "There is a large development of the coronoid process of the mandible for the attachment of the temporal muscle", says Osborn. "This jaw may well have been used as a tool in the last stages of the preparation of hides, as is the practice of the Eskimo races". That this method would have been of simple discovery is evident. Hunger is a great teacher — a hungry Heidelberger may have chewed the remaining scraps of meat adhering to a hide, and if the case was sufficiently extreme, a nice probability in the event of an irregular food supply, he may have quite thoroughly chewed the hide itself, which, while not of a particularly appetising nature, would still have had a certain flavour. Starving men have often been known to chew leather. The qualities of a chewed hide are notably different from those of an unchewed one. Chewed hides are softer and more pleasant to the touch; their wearing qualities are immeasurably heightened by the process; thus, the first preparation of materials for protective clothing may have originated in hunger.

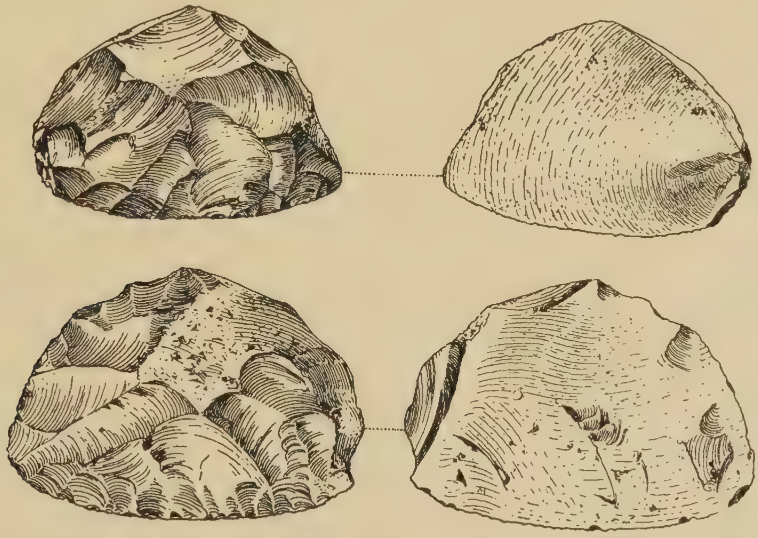


Fig. 8. — Mousterian racloir or scraper, from Le Moustier (Dordogne).
Possibly used in the preparation of skins.
(After Déchelette.)

The combined Pre-Chellean, Chellean, Acheulean, and Mousterian periods cover, in the opinion of most authorities, an extremely long time, they belong to the Lower Palæolithic, or first part of the Stone Age, generally estimated as having lasted some 75,000 or 100,000 years. The Upper Palæolithic or Late Stone Age is suposed to have lasted only from 15,000 to 25,000 years, so that the early part of the Old Stone Age was about three times as long as the later part.

The Pre-Chellean period represents the dawn of this age and, as has been mentioned before, the first undoubtedly authentic tools and instruments (3). These Pre-Chellean instruments were extremely crude. Nevertheless, it is believed from the form of some of them that they may have been used in dressing hides (4). If this was the case, it is possible that some ornaments of primitive nature may have been worn. This is all mere supposition. There is no absolute proof of the use of clothing or ornament either in Pre-Chellean times or in the Chellean which followed.

For the Chellean, however, the probabilities are stronger. The climate remained warm and life was still in the open. Chellean culture seems to have existed at one time or another practically all over the world. (See Table of Palæolithic Periods) (5).

The tools are not as crude as those of Pre-Chellean times and may well have served for some purpose in connection with

(3) It should be noted that authorities are more and more in favour of attributing the form of the Eoliths to human agency.

(4) Obermaier observes that some of the rude tools are excellently adapted to this purpose.

(5) An acquaintance with the theories of the manner in which cultures originated or concerning their possible diffusion is important in the study of costume. In a former edition of the Enc. Brit. (1911) we find the following statement in an article headed "Anthropology" by E. B. Tylor. "Anthropological researches undertaken all over the globe have shown the necessity for abandoning the old theory, that a similarity of customs and superstitions, of arts and crafts, justifies the assumption of a remote relationship, if not an identity of origin, between races. It is now certain that there has ever been an inherent tendency in man, allowing for a difference of climate and material surroundings to develop culture by the same stages and the same way. American man, for example, need not necessarily owe the minutest portion of his religious, social, or industrial development to remote contact with Asia or Europe, though he were proved to possess identical usages. An example of this point is that of pyramid building. No ethnical relationship can ever have existed between the Aztecs and Egyptians ; yet each race developed the idea of the pyramid tomb through that psychological similarity which is as much a characteristic of the species man as is his physique." etc...

In the later edition of the same work, (1921) this theory is quite definitely refuted, and clothing (6). Savage peoples in a state of culture similar to the Chellean indulge in both ornamentation and clothing.

This Chellean period was followed by the Acheulean with similar climatic conditions. Life in general was carried on on the plateaus and along the rivers where hunting was good. This Acheulean period was signalized by the appearance of a new type of man, *Homo Neanderthalis.* The instruments of this period were less crudely finished than those of the preceding periods and their uses were more diversified.

THE MOUSTERIAN PERIOD AND THE NEANDERTHALS. — The Mousterian period shows the Neanderthal Culture at its highest point of development. At its end the Neanderthal Men suddenly and somewhat mysteriously disappeared.

They were a short stocky race, clumsily built, but of enormous strength. Their brain was not correspondingly proportioned to that of *Homo sapiens,* and the structure of their massive thigh bones precluded the possibility of an entirely erect posture; in fine, they were much more bestial than any existent race of man. From their generally bulky and ungraceful build it

many examples of similarity in culture are shown to have originated in identity or contact. Regarding the pyramids, we find the following : "The more fully the details of these pyramids are studied, the more complete is the demonstration of their derivation one from the other as the stream of culture moved from west to east. In Ceylon at Polonnaruwa we find pyramids of Mesopotamian design, but built of stone like those of the Egyptians. The less ornate Khmer pyramids, such as Ka-Keo and Ba-Kong of Cambodgia, reproduce the Singhalese models with singular accuracy ; and then pyramids of the same type appear in western Peru and Ecuador, Central America and Mexico, the Mississippi Valley and the south eastern region of the United States, the transference of the incentive across the Pacific having been effected between the third and the tenth centuries A.D." This latter theory of diffusion by contact or migration seems the more plausible as the explanation of the extreme similarity between certain prehistoric culture manifestations and those of existing races, which are remarked upon in this chapter.

(6) Dr Ballet, *La parure aux époques paléolithiques anciennes* (Bull. de la Soc. préhist. française. T. XII, § 2, 1915) interestingly shows that the Chelleans, taking small fragments of silex which were naturally perforated, worked off the natural irregularities and protuberances and thus obtained a crude sort of beads as well as pendants which they secured by the same process in the case of larger oblong pieces.

A. de Paniagua. *L'Age du Renne,* Paris, 1926, p. 181, makes suggestions concerning shells and pieces of chalk.

would seem that they were more suited to a terrestrial than an arboreal mode of life; it is evident from the shortness of their limbs that their arboreal ancestry, if they ever had one, was even more remote than that of the other races of man.

The Neanderthals showed but little aesthetic activity, a fact that fits very well with their general make up. In the making of their instruments particular attention was paid to their possible utilitarian value and their morphology was almost entirely neglected. The end of the Acheulean period was apparently cool and the climate of the Mousterian was probably cold, not to say rigorous.

The Neanderthals gradually took to the caves, that is to say, more exactly, to the cave mouths or to rock shelters, as they never seem to have penetrated to the interiors to any extent. The climatic change is clearly shown by the difference in the Mousterian instruments from their predecessors. They are smaller and the implements which apparently served for the preparation of materials used as bodily coverings are much more numerous (7). This change in the mode of living from the open into shelters must, almost certainly, have had far-reaching effects upon clothing. Differentiation in the dress of the sexes had probably already taken place (8), but it probably was much accentuated by the greater difference in the life of the females, brought about through the use of shelters. The life of the man would still be exposed to the perils and elements encountered in the chase, the life of the woman much less so. Furthermore, this

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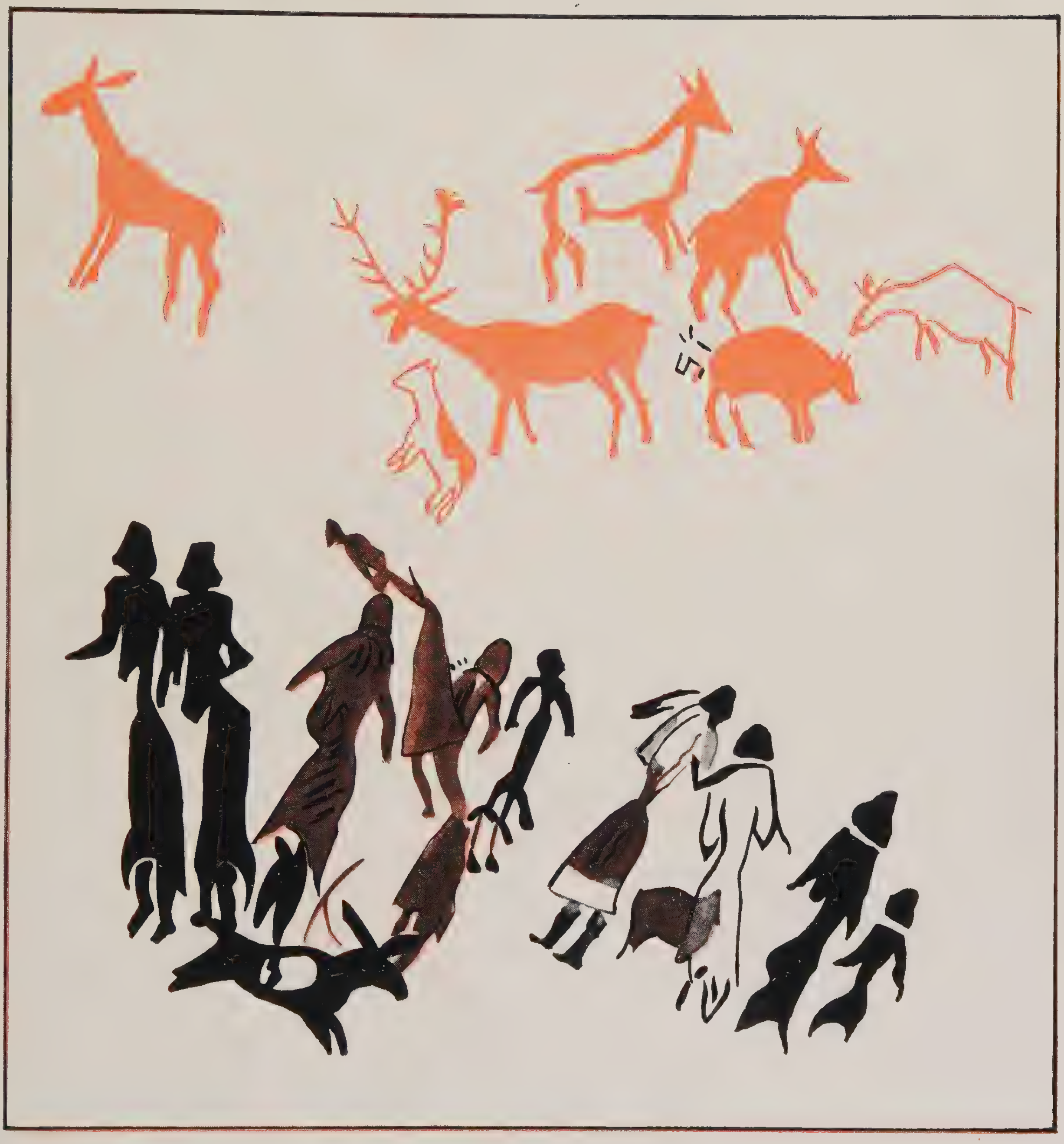
(7) "Certain pieces", say Capitan (*La Préhistoire,* p. 34), "remind one absolutely of the instruments used by tanners".

(8) Edmond Haraucourt, in his amusing book "*Dââh, le Premier Homme*", gives the following imaginative explanation for the differentiation of the dress of the sexes, based upon an elaboration of Lubbock's theory : "The best pelts were for the strongest, the women had what was left, if any. She dressed herself in the pieces abandoned by the hunter who had found better. And this régime, to which the egotism of the male subjected her through some thousands of years, hardened her so well against the cold, that she gained forever her faculty of living in semi-nudity".



MURAL PAINTING IN THE ROCK SHELTER OF COGUL,
LERIDA, SPAIN. PROBABLY FINAL MAGDALENIAN.

denser communal mode of living doubtless favoured the development of religion and imagination with their accompanying ceremonials, lore, ritual, and tendency towards the stressing of costume, always so inextricably tied up with religious ceremonies of any kind.

It is in a Mousterian burial that we find the first graphic use of colour and the first crude ornaments (9). That the Neanderthals had an elementary religious sense seems established by these burial finds; the presence of colour and certain finely pointed flakes of silex indicate the possibility of body painting or even tattooing, although the absence of any sense of design as far as permanent materials are concerned would tend to indicate its absence in connection with bodily decoration. This race of such extremely limited aesthetic activities, now, (about 20,000 or 25,000 years ago) suddenly, and, most authorities claim, quite completely disappeared (10).

The Mousterian Neanderthals were replaced by new-comers known as the Crô-Magnons, possessing superior physical and intellectual development and a culture of an entirely different nature. Apparently this new race exterminated the Neanderthals in a struggle for the rich hunting grounds of western Europe. The giants and ogres, which so terrifyingly colour the folk lore of our race, may well be remainders of Crô-Magnon propaganda, originating in this old and bitter inter-racial conflict; the phantoms which so scare our modern children, who have to go to bed in

(9) Dr. Henri Marin, in the Mousterian strata of la Quina, found canines bearing evident traces of perforation, and pierced reindeer phalanges.

(10) This apparently complete disappearance of the Neanderthals is one of the mysteries of prehistory. They do not seem to have been enslaved by the conquerors, nor do their women seem to have been incorporated into the newcomers' society, as is usually the case with primitive peoples under similar circumstances. H. G. Wells submits as a reason the possibility that the Neanderthals were extremely hirsute and therefore aesthetically repulsive. Hrdlicka holds that the Neanderthals partially evolved into the lower races of *Homo sapiens,* and were partially absorbed by the Crô-Magnons. He claims that traces of Neanderthal blood and characteristics are not lacking even among modern Europeans.

the dark, may be survivals of the more dangerous visions of the little Crô-Magnons, who saw the brutal and hairy faces of their Neanderthal enemies hovering in the Palæolithic dusk (11).

The Upper Palæolithic and the Crô-Magnons. — The advent of this new race begins in the Upper Palæolithic times, distinguished by so many most important changes. The Crô-Magnons were natural artists. No uncivilised race ever has shown a corresponding degree of development of the artistic sense. They are believed to have come from the East, perhaps through North Africa, and may represent the first of that series of human waves thrown off by the great Asiatic reservoir. We now have to deal with a new set of cultural developments which lead to some extraordinary conclusions regarding dress.

Prehistoric finds along the Riviera and the negroid race of Grimaldi. — Before studying the evidence in connection with these interesting new comers, it might be well to cast a glance at another race, the remains of which, while they were discovered only at one place, the Grottes de Grimaldi, whence their name, nevertheless are of such significance to the prehistorian that their existence can by no means be ignored even in the briefest of discussions. The nine Grottes de Grimaldi have yielded the remains of sixteen individuals as well as numerous cultural evidences in association with them and thus have furnished (for the finds are classified as belonging to the Aurignacian), a rich field for the study of the transition from Lower to Upper Palæolithic times. Fourteen of the sixteen skeletons mentioned are classified by Dr. Verneau as Crô-Magnon, the remaining two are the afore-mentioned "Grimaldi negroids" and it is these which lend to the discoveries so much of their interest and importance.

(11) See *Views and Reviews,* Sir Harry Johnston.

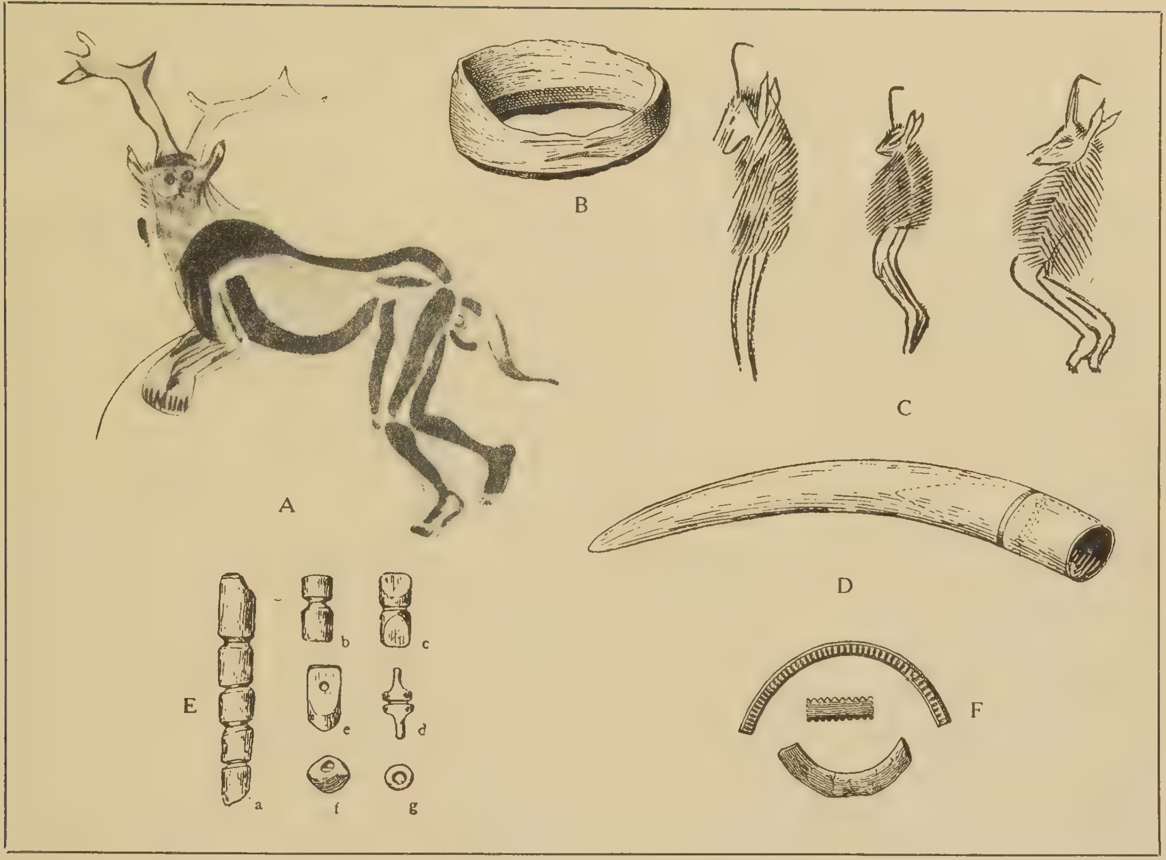


Fig. 9

A. Mural figure, partly engraved and partly painted. Magdalenian, from the cavern of Trois-Frères, Ariège. It represents a masked magician and dominates several hundred engravings of game animals. Known as "The Sorcerer", the fantastic combination of elements (owl-like face, wolf's ears, horse's tail, bear's paws, human feet, and a long beard) suggested to M. A. Murray, (*The Witch Cult in Central Europe*, Oxford 1921) a connection with the witch-god, who danced on the Witch's Sabbath arrayed in the skin of an animal, masked, and with a long beard and a tail. The wearing of a tail, which is also evident in Fig. A is common among primitive peoples especially in Africa, (See Chap. VI). (After Breuil).

B. Diagram showing how rings of this kind might have been obtained by sawing out a section of the tusk, After Sollas.

C. Engravings of figures wearing chamois head masks. Magdalenian, from the rock shelter at Mege, Teyjat, Dordogne. Masks may have been used for hunting as well as ceremonially. Actual size. (After Capitan, Breuil, Burinet and Perony.)

D. Segment of Mammoth's tusk, Aurignacian, from the Grotte du Placard.

E. Ivory beads in various stages of manufacture. Middle Aurignacian. From the Abri-Blanchard. (After Didon).

"From the waste products scattered through the cave", says Sollas, (*op. cit.* p. 366) it has been found possible to trace the process of manufacture in all its stages. To begin with a cylindrical rod was prepared... The rod was then ringed all around at regular intervals with deep notches (a) and the segments so produced were separated in pairs (b) each segment was made thinner at one end by paring it away on two opposite sides (c, d) as a preliminary to drilling a hole through it (e). The beads were finally separated and when the rough ends had been rounded off they were ready for the thread (f). Some of these beads had broad bases but others were like modern beads (g).

F. Solutrean, from the Grotte du Placard. Bracelets became very popular in the later Neolithic period, but the finest European specimens never equalled the beautifully executed Neolithic bracelets of Egypt.

A workshop where bracelets were manufactured of schist at Montcombroux, France, which is generally considered as belonging to Neolithic times, yielded more than three thousand fragments of bracelets with the tools which were employed in their manufacture.

The part played in prehistory by the race represented by this one isolated instance must remain, for the present, no more than the subject for lively discussion which it is, for opposing schools claim respectively its wide spread or restricted distribution upon evidence which must at best remain controversial.

As regards costume these Riviera finds, whether connected with the Crô-Magnon or Grimaldi races, are of the highest interest. At Cavillon, a hairpin was found in such a position that its use was established beyond any reasonable doubt, thus furnishing a clue as to the true nature of other similar objects of different places of origin (12). Other objects in the form of a double olive are considered by some students as having been used as frog buttons, such as those to be seen on certain military tunics or the braided overcoats of the '80s, while others attribute to them a connection with the modern cuff link. I believe these theories to be much weakened by the presence of ornamental garters or leg ornaments with their accompanying implication of a scanty clothing, but the position of many of the ornaments which were found in relation to the skeletons makes their former uses relatively well assured. In the case of the man of Cavillon mentioned in connection with the hair pin, the skull was found, with 200 *Nassus* and 22 perforated stag canines which are believed to have formed a sort of hair-net analogous to those still worn by fishermen or peasant women of certain parts of Italy. He also had a sort of garter or leg ornament of *Nassus*. In the Grotte des Enfants the negroid young Grimaldian wore a sort of crown of four rows of perforated *Nassus* (*Cyclonassa*

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(12) "These are for the Aurignacian epoch", says Luquet (*op. cit.* p. 49) sometimes bones, notably the metacarpals, sharpened at one extremity with the natural lump formed by the articulation conserved at the other end, sometimes entirely artificial pieces, but of the same form, and where the thin stem has been intentionally furnished with a head. See Grim., t. II, pl. xx, nos. 12-14 (Grotte des Enfants) ; and a similar object formed of the metacarpal of a wolf found beside the Aurignacian skeleton of Paviland (Grim., t. II, p. 304) ; Grim., t. II, fig, 150 and 151 (Gorge d'Enfer).

nerita) which were found on the sides and upper part of the skull, while the old woman buried beside him had two bracelets composed of the same shells, one just above the left wrist, the other in two rows just below the humerus. In the case of a man found in a hearth 70 centimeters below these skeletons, a certain number of perforated *Nassus* were found among the left ribs, which might have formed a smaller number of the same shells and some stag teeth found in an isolated position beside

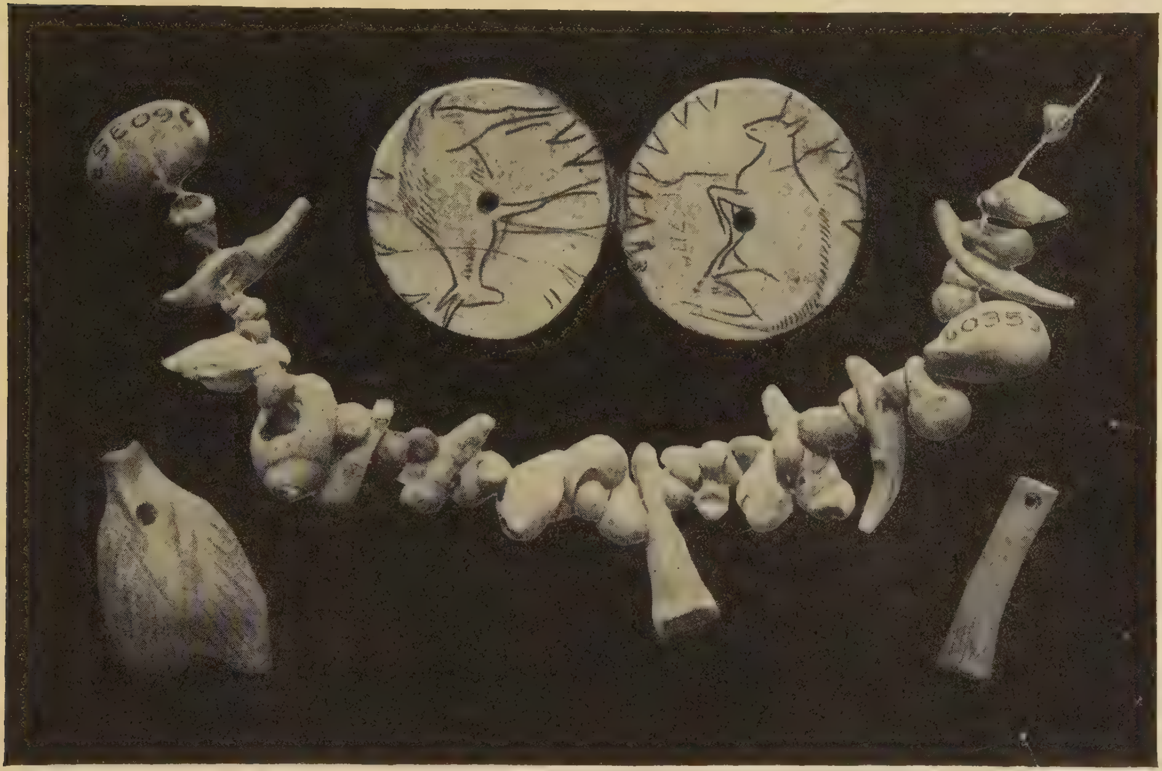


FIG. 10.

Left and right: Bone pendants, Magdalenian and Middle Aurignacian, from the Grotte de l'Eglise. Excideuil and Sergeac, Dordogne.

Centre: Collar of ivory, bone stone and shells, from Sergeac, Dordogne, Middle Aurignacian.

Top. Bone toggle, Magdelanian, from Laugerie-Basse, Dordogne.

(Musée de St. Germain.)

the head beneath the jaw, may have formed part of a collar or diadem. The two children after whom the Grotte des Enfants was named, were surrounded with about a thousand perforated *Nassus* belonging to "a belt of shells or sort of apron, which extended in each case from the navel to the upper part of the thighs covering entirely the lumbar region" (E. Rivière, *De l'Antiquité de l'homme dans les Alpes-Maritimes,* Paris, 1877, p. 119 and pl. XIII).

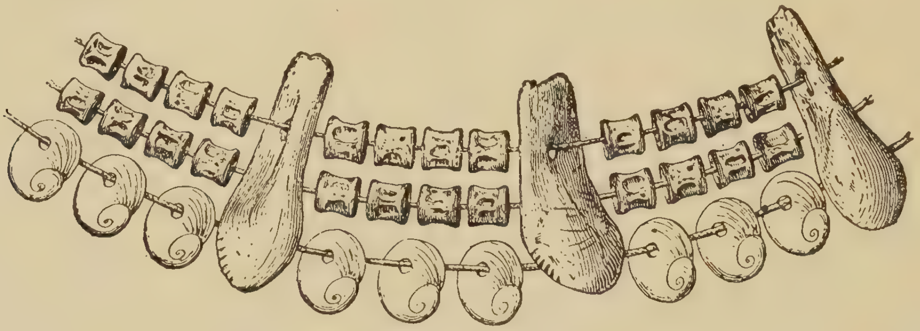
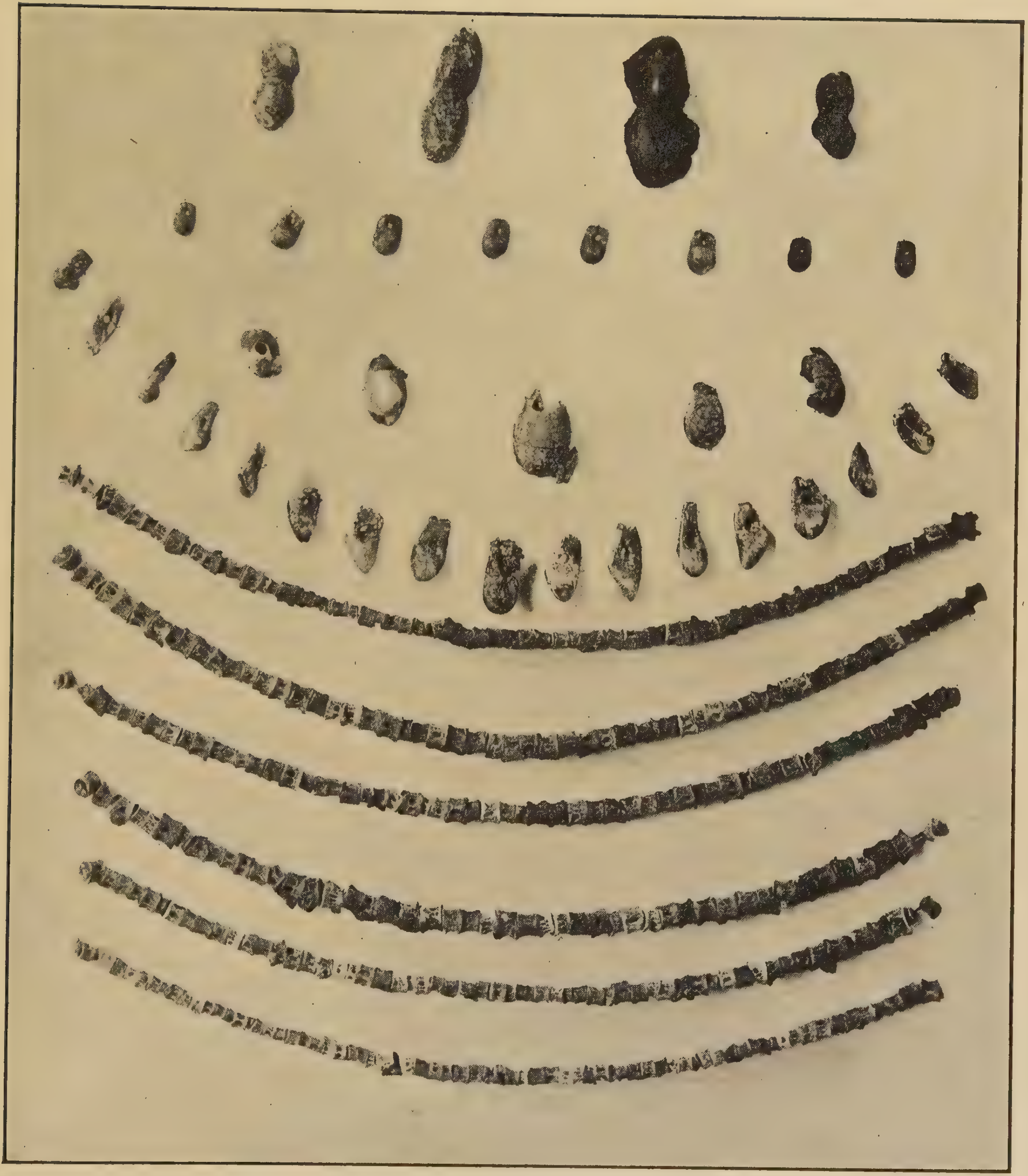


Fig. 11.

Necklace

Upper Palæolithic, from Barma Grande, Italy, (Grimaldi). Of stag canines, fish vertebrae, and *Nassa nerita* shells. Found with skeleton of a young man. Note the rythmical arrangement and balance of design from top to bottom. Scale 4/5 After Verneau.

At Baousso da Torre the men found were surrounded by numerous shells of different species, indicating by their positions that they formed bracelets, necklaces, diadems, and perhaps belt ornaments and garters. At Barma Grande fish vertebrae and artificial pendants were found among the shells, and a rhythmic arrangement of the different elements which went to make up the ornaments was evident in the case of the well known necklace of the young man of the triple sepulture of Barma Grande where a coating of clay had preserved the objects in their original position. This collar was formed in three parallel rows, the two upper ones composed of fish vertebrae and the lower one of *Nassus*. At regular intervals separated by four vertebrae and three *Nassus* was a stag canine fastened at the upper row and



BARMA GRANDE NECKLACE.

Photograph of the elements composing the famous Barma Grande collar which is shown as restored by Dr Verneau in the drawing on the opposite page. This collar is considered the finest example of Palæolithic ornament, and it is interesting to compare the photograph with the painstaking restoration.

PL. III.

cutting vertically the three rows. (See fig. 11 and plate III). This necklace formed perhaps the most artistic piece of adornment of the Old Stone Age. Another though simpler example of the attention paid to design exists in the necklace (Lower Magdalenian) found at the Grotte du Placard, where six pierced fossil shells (*Sismundia occitana*) alternated with five *Natica* (A. de Maret, *Congrès archéol. de Fr.*, Vienne, 1879, p. 173).

In the Aurignacian period the Crô-Magnons encountered dry and stimulating climatic conditions with warm summers but severe winters. The ice fields of the Fourth Glaciation were retreating. The shelter afforded by caverns and overhanging cliffs was advantageously utilized, but there was also much life in the open. Drawings, called tectiforms, discovered in the Dordogne, indicate the existence of large huts and shelters, probably built of logs and covered with skins, located where the flint industry flourished or where the hunting and fishing were particularly good.

One of the most important innovations of the Aurignacian was the appearance of an industry in which bone played a leading part as a material of manufacture. This bone industry required an entirely new technique, and we find, among the augmented list of implements, forms adapted to this specialized work.

Concrete evidence of the existence of ornamentation has been unearthed, pendants of varied materials being by no means rare — teeth, pierced at the base, pieces of bone, ivory or limestone and numerous sea-shells. The value at which the latter were held is fully attested by the fact that they have been found in localities at a journey of many tedious miles from the sea shore (13). Little bone implements, of varied uses, including pins, and even a few crude needles without eyeholes, together with abundant

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(13) Notably the shells of the Mediterranean (*Cypraca lurida*, C. *pyrum*, *Nassa gibbosula*) found at Laugerie-Basse, and the sea-shells found in the debris of the Haute-Garonne (Gourdan, Lespugne, etc.) at a distance of about 120 miles as the crow flies (200 kilomètres) from either the Mediterranean or Atlantic. See. G. H. Luquet, *L'art et la Religion des Hommes Fossiles*, Paris, 1926, p. 43.

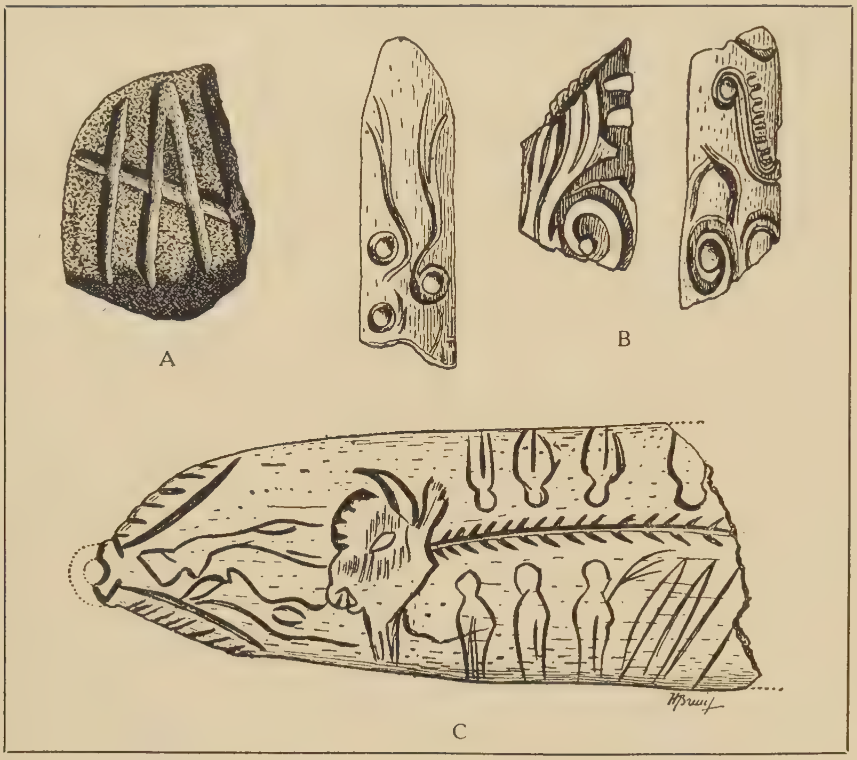

FIG. 12.

A. Grindstone used for polishing needles, from Massat, Ariège, Magdalenian.

B. Fragments of bone decorated with conventionalized animal motifs. Magdalenian. From Espéluges, Lourdes. Note the resemblance to horns and eyes of the elements from which the designs are made up. (After Piette.)

C. Hunter's tally in the form of a carved bone pendant, from Raymonden, Chancelade, Dordogne. Magdalenian. The design, supposed to represent a hunter's feast is interesting because of the prominence given to the partially dismembered bison with its exposed spinal column; scale being ignored to gain this effect. An excellent example of trophyistic ornament. (After Breuil.)

colouring materials, ochre and manganese, all point to an unprecedented development of costume (14).

An explanation of this development is not difficult. Graphic and plastic art brought in by the aesthetic Crô-Magnons, together with customs similar to those of existing primitive races, are found. It is quite reasonable to suppose that these artistic activities were directly connected with ritual and fetishism. The presence of peculiarly formed, pierced pieces of bone, called "Bâtons de Commandement" (15) may indicate the existence of caste. Evidently costume had begun to react upon primitive man individually and socially.

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(14) During the summer of 1927 I had the pleasure of exploring most of the more important caves and shelters in the region of Les Eyzies and making the acquaintance of that admirable prehistorian and most hospitable gentleman M. D. Perony. In this connection I had the privilege of examining several bandeaux of mammoth ivory found in the Aurignacian of Serjac. These bandeaux, about the shape and thickness of a flattened out lead-pencil, varied considerably in circumference, and must either have been worn by children as well as adults (a most unlikely supposition) or have formed parts of an elaborate coiffure the smaller ones being worn above the larger, which quite obviously encircled the forehead and perhaps held in place feathers or other ornaments either erect or pendant. From the same period was a fragment of bone bearing the incised figure apparently of a man wearing a skin of some kind over his head, with the legs and claws hanging loosely down and flapping as they might upon a person dancing. This object forms an interesting attestation of the existence of ritual during the Aurignacian. Unfortunately I cannot reproduce it here as it has not as yet been published. It was found at the shelter of La Madeleine.

In almost all primitive societies the male is the more ornate, following the general rule of visual factors of sex attraction as exhibited among animals.

There is little doubt that this rule applied to the Palæolithic situation. Whenever ornaments have been found with skeletal remains of the two sexes, those found in proximity to the male always have been more numerous and elaborate. If costume originated sexually this would be quite logical, and, even if some other source was more directly responsible for its origin, the inevitable interplay of existent psychological factors might theoretically bring about this state of affairs.

Suppose a bear's tooth to be worn by an individual as an indication of his prowess as a hunter, purely from a standpoint of trophyism (16); this would automatically suggest his ability as a food provider and thus indirectly at least would prove attractive sexually, but a bear's tooth is not without aesthetic allure from a standpoint of colour

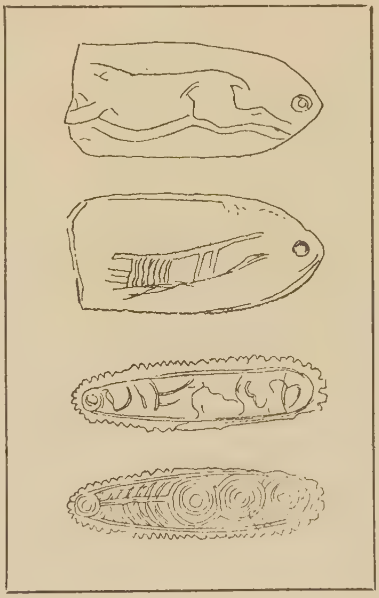

Fig. 13.

(Beginning at the top) Bone pendant with galloping animal and undeterminated objects. Salomon Reinach suggests that it may be a sort of gauntlet or bandage? Or a sledge? From St Marcel, Indre. Magdalenian. Engraved bone amulet analogous to the Australian *Churinga*, same cave and period

(15) Schoetensack has suggested that the "bâtons" may have been used as ornaments to fasten clothing, while S. Reinach says they were perhaps trophies of the chase.

The manner in which the perforations in these "Bâtons de Commandement" show wear, in certain cases at least, would indicate that they were suspended from a cord. Possibly they were worn hanging round the neck.

(16) It is interesting to note in this connection that imitation teeth and shells, carved in ivory, were manufactured as early as the Magdalenian.

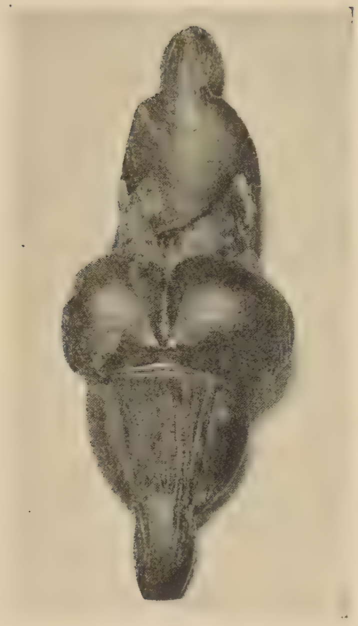

Fig. 14.

Rear view of the female ivory figurine from the Grotte des Rideaux, at Lespugne, Haute-Garonne. Aurignacian. This and the "Venus of Willendorf" may be early examples of the "Great Mother" a symbol of fecundity. The general resemblance of this "Venus of Lespugne" to the Willendorf figure indicates the possibility of a homogeneity of Aurignacian culture over a wide area. The peculiarly placed "apron" seems African in character. Unfortunately the front of the figure is so damaged that is impossible to know whether a fastening for this "apron" may have been indicated. (Photographs from the Musée St. Germain.)

and lustre. Furthermore, it is an article which is sufficiently difficult of possession to recommend display from the point of view of its rarity. Its association with the bear, a powerful animal and worthy adversary, might imply that some quality, as strength, inherent in the bear, should persist in the tooth — fetishism and magic. If a man owned a great number of these teeth it might be assumed that he possessed one or all of these qualities to a superior degree, thus giving signification to ornament as a mark of caste. By the same token, being powerful, he would be a protector of superior quality.

Through these, as well as many other possible complications, the sex factor remains involved as a primary one.

It is a short step from caste to cult. Possibly it was in the Aurignacian that the practices of an embryonic ruling class stimulated the elementary ritual and fetishism toward the institution of the intellectual and artistic cult, the appearance of the medicine man, totem taboo, masks, feathers, dressing up and drum beating.

Evidence of the existence of such a cult is forthcoming in the Magdalenian, which followed the Aurignacian after the interval represented by the Solutrean (17), a period which is of little interest to the student of costume.

THE MAGDALENIAN REINDEER CULTURE. — The Magdalenian period represents the culmination of Palæolithic culture, and the flowering of the entire artistic impulse of the Old Stone Age. Flint chipping is in most cases more imperfect than that of the Solutreans (18); but, on the other hand, much progress is shown as regards horn and bone, and the almost unbelievable perfection of certain branches of these industries must have had a marked effect upon clothing. In this connection, one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Magdalenian is the numerous and beautifully executed bone needles which were found in most of the more important stations. Because of their size, often little larger than that of our modern needles, they must have been in common use. At the Museum of Saint-Germain one can compare these needles with those of the Bronze Age which are in an adjacent room. The verdict is favorable to the Magdalenian specimens which are incomparably finer. They are even superior to a corresponding type of Roman needles of the time of Vertillum, which are in the Museum at Châtillon-sur-Seine, although the Roman artisans had metal tools. De Mortillet claims that they are better than any of the needles of historic times down to the Renaissance.

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(17) The Solutrean is considered more as a special culture phase — perhaps imported by a new race — than as an epoch.

There is a possibility that some of the smaller examples may have been used for making leather receptacles for liquids, as was the case with certain primitives, the absence of pottery tending to strengthen this supposition. Such work certainly would have required a high degree of technique, but not a technique by any means impossible to men capable of piercing these delicate implements with no better tools than sharp points of silex. Another potential use

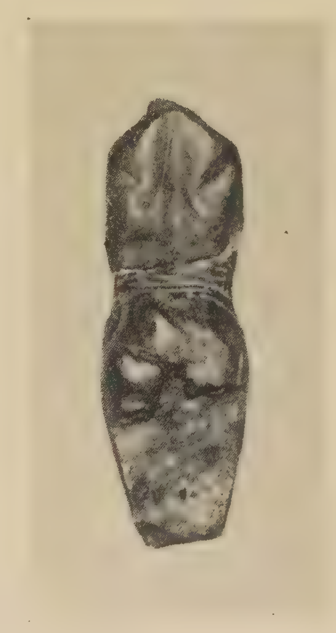

Fig. 15.

Small figurine of crystalline talc, Late Palæolithic, from Baousse-Rousse, (Commune of Grimaldi, Italy.) Note the girdle or belt. (Musée St. Germain n° 49284. Bull. Soc. anthrop. 1902, p. 773.)

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(18) A characteristic of the Solutrean culture was the perfection of the technique of flint chipping by pressure. This method subsequently attained a wide geographical distribution.

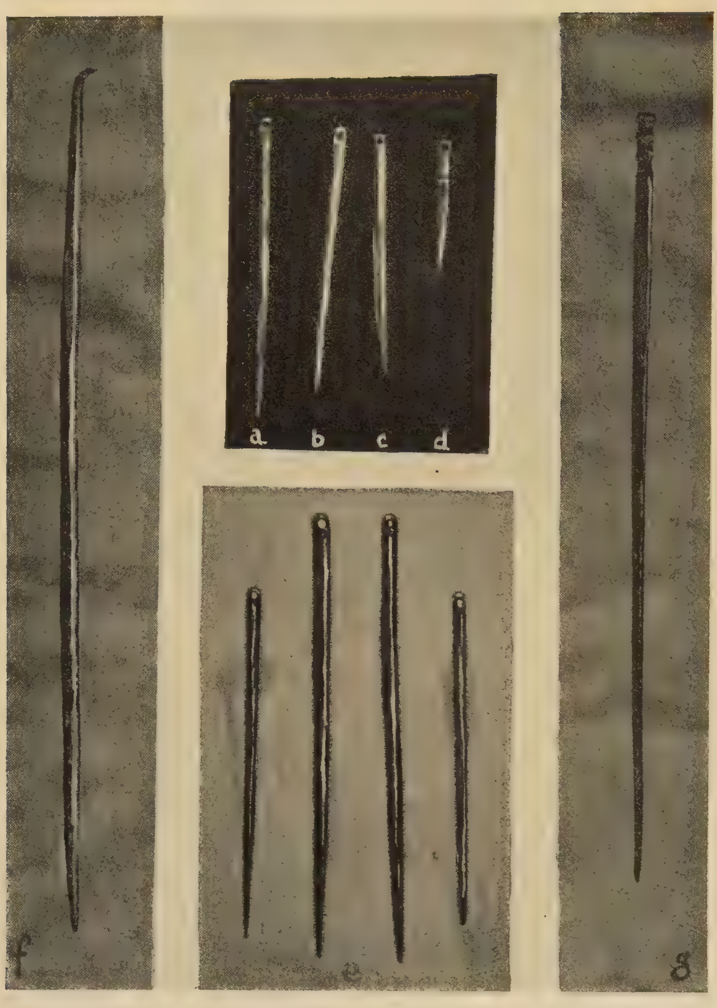

Fig. 16.

Needles.

a, b, c, d, Magdalenian, actual size. — e, Magdalenian. — f, g, Age of Bronze, actual size.

reveals itself in connection with the ornamentation of clothing. Perhaps shells or similar ornaments were sewn to the garments as the large number of pierced objects would indicate. Certain perforated disks may have served as buttons.

There are strong reasons for believing that the use of fundamental garment forms of a rudimentary perfection dates from the Magdalenian. A simple tunic, the ancestor of a long line of similar pieces, the skirt and kilt (or divided coverings for the legs) the mantle or cape (precursor of the coat) as well as moccasins or boots, are among the probabilities. By a reversal of the Law of Copy, we may arrive at an idea of the various forms employed, comparing them to existing primitive examples, always allowing of course for the differences accruing from different climatic conditions and racial tendencies.

The Magdalenian furnishes an abundance of evidence regarding ritual and magic. Many of the plentiful animal forms plastically represented bear the marks of dart or javelin thrusts, and graphic representations are often accompanied by lines forming inverted V's, which quite obviously have a similar significance. The enormous preponderance of game animals as subjects for the Palæolithic artist also point toward their significance in relation to the food supply. It is unfortunate, from a standpoint of dress, that the comparatively rare representations of the human form are always represented from a religious viewpoint — nude (19). The exception is shown in the illustration which is a reproduction of a drawing found at Cogul, Spain, apparently dating from the very close of the Palæolithic period. Some of the plastic female figurines may have originally been decorated or even dressed, their structure allows of such a possibility, in a manner similar to that employed by the little known Caraja tribe of Brazil, who make similar statuettes. The head of a young female, carved in ivory, found at the Grotte du Pape at Brassempouy, boasts quite an elaborate coiffure. Other interesting representations of the human form exist in those found at Cambarelles by Capitan, which show the use of masks similar to those used by modern savages in their religious ceremonies. Perony

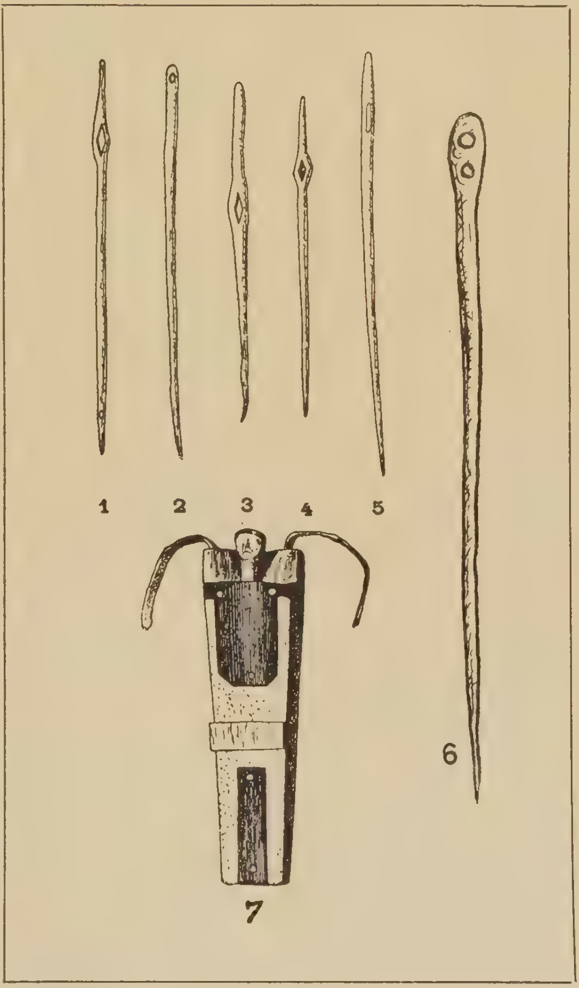

Fig. 17.

Needles.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Bronze Age, actual size — 6, Roman Needle, scale 2/5 — 7, Eskimo Needle case. (After Boas.)

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(19) The author believes that the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the fact that these people were clothed as a rule, under ordinary circumstances. Very often people who ordinarily wear clothing and ornament remove it during the performance of religious ceremonies, while people living in an habitual state of nudity don clothing and ornament under similar cicumstances.

found a drawing, incised upon stone, at La Madeleine, in which the outline of the mask is plainly shown as distinct from that of the profile of its wearer. In this connection, the remarkable figure called "The Sorcerer" engraved and coloured on the wall of the Trois Frères in the Ariège, and the three masked figurines, representing chamois, engraved on a bâton from the rock shelter at Tréjat in the Dordogne, should not be overlooked.

Characteristic of the Magdalenian are more or less deeply incised designs upon bone. Sometimes round bones were decorated around their entire surface, and it has been suggested that these may have been used for printing designs upon leather, a most improbable supposition. Bone rings, cleverly made by cutting mammoth tusks into lateral sections, may have served as bracelets. The presence of certain reindeer bones, incised in a distinctive manner, indicates that reindeer sinews may have been used as thread, as is the practice among the Lapps and Eskimo who succeed in obtaining surprisingly fine thread by splitting these tendons. Similarities between the bone work of the Magdalenian and that of the Eskimo have often been remarked. Some students believe that, because of the generally similar culture, the Eskimo are the surviving representatives of this period. Déchelette in the *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique,* Vol. 1, denies the possibility of such a connection and states that it is historically established that the art of the Eskimo is only two hundred years old (20).

Amber, which became an important article of ornamentation in later Neolithic times, is first found in the Magdalenian. Still later it became one of the substances believed to possess powerful magical properties. These beliefs had a tremendous effect upon the spread of culture, for no hardships were too great, no route too hazardous for those who sought these precious amulets, making unbelievably long journeys for their attainment.

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(20) W. B. Dawkins opposes Déchelette's conclusion saying : — "The analogies are too strong to admit of a coincidental explanation and the Eskimo received their culture from the men of the Palæolithic period, if they are not actually descended from them". By either theory the result, as far as costume is concerned, is about the same, the Eskimo are in a corresponding state of culture and their costume probably is much the same as that of the Magdalenians.

In Southern Spain, notably in the cavern of Cogul, there are drawings in a peculiar style, which it is impossible to date exactly. These are generally attributed to the close of the Palæolithic period. They show a striking resemblance to certain drawings of the Bushmen, and have little common with the highly realistic work of the Crô-Magnons. See figs. 19 and 20. Similar drawings found at Alpera are classified as belonging to the Azillian (21) period, which forms a transitory stage between the Palæolithic and

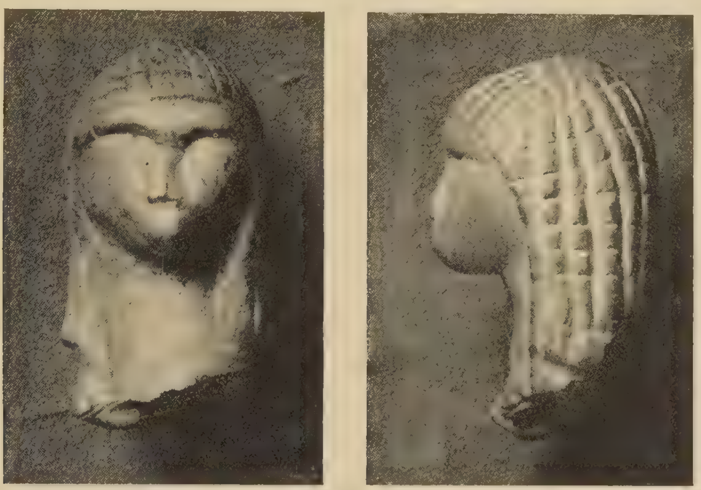

Fig. 18.

Venus of Brassempouy.

Female head in ivory, from the Grotte du Pape. This "Femme au Capuchon" has provided much discussion because of the manner in which the coiffure is indicated. It has been suggested that this is an attempt to represent a wig. About 1/5 larger than actual size.

(Photo Musée de St. Germain.)

(21) Abbé Breuil in a lecture given at l'Institut de Paléontologie humaine (March 13, 1926), dates the oldest of these Spanish Cave paintings as belonging to the Aurignacian of Spain. He bases his conclusions on the manner in which the horns of the cervidae are represented ; that is to say, the horns are drawn "full face" upon animals shown in profile, rather than as in the Magdalenian where horns were shown in profile upon animals in a corresponding position.

Neolithic cultures. The Azillian artifacts are thought to be the product of this race with possible Bushman affinities. The period is characterized by many painted pebbles (22), the absence of bone needles, the disappearance of the reindeer and reindeer culture, and the appearance of the red deer in increasing numbers. Very little is known of this time which signalled the advent of new agricultural-hunting races, the direct ancestors of modern Europeans.

THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD IN WESTERN EUROPE. — The new races brought with them several institutions which proved important in changing the life of mankind. They made their appearance as far as the present discussion is concerned, somewhere between 6,000 and 20,000 years ago.

Among the most important of these institutions may be noted : mining, building, ceramics, textiles, domestication, transportation, and commerce ; all closely interrelated, and forming the foundation of the present economic system.

Three important devices of the Neolithic period are the bow and arrow, the boat form, and the wheel. None of these factors revolutionized the life of man immediately, in spite of their ultimate importance. Material inventions never do. The Neolithic hunting agriculturists had additional clothing resources in the form of fibres obtained from flax (*Linum angustifolium*), and possibly from the wool of a variety of merino-like sheep (*Capra hircus kelleri*) (23), which they are known to have possessed in a domestic state.

The two great conventional arts, ceramics and textiles, were progressing together. The ever widening economic circle was

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(22) These pebbles are similar to those found in connection with the earlier Aegean finds. (Capitan. *La Préhistoire.* Pl. XVIII) Glotz, in *The Aegean Civilization,* p. 81, draws a comparison of the Cretan costume with that shown in the Cogul drawing.

(23) No specimens of woollen cloth have been preserved, but this is doubtless due to the fact that animal fibres decay so much more quickly than vegetable ones.

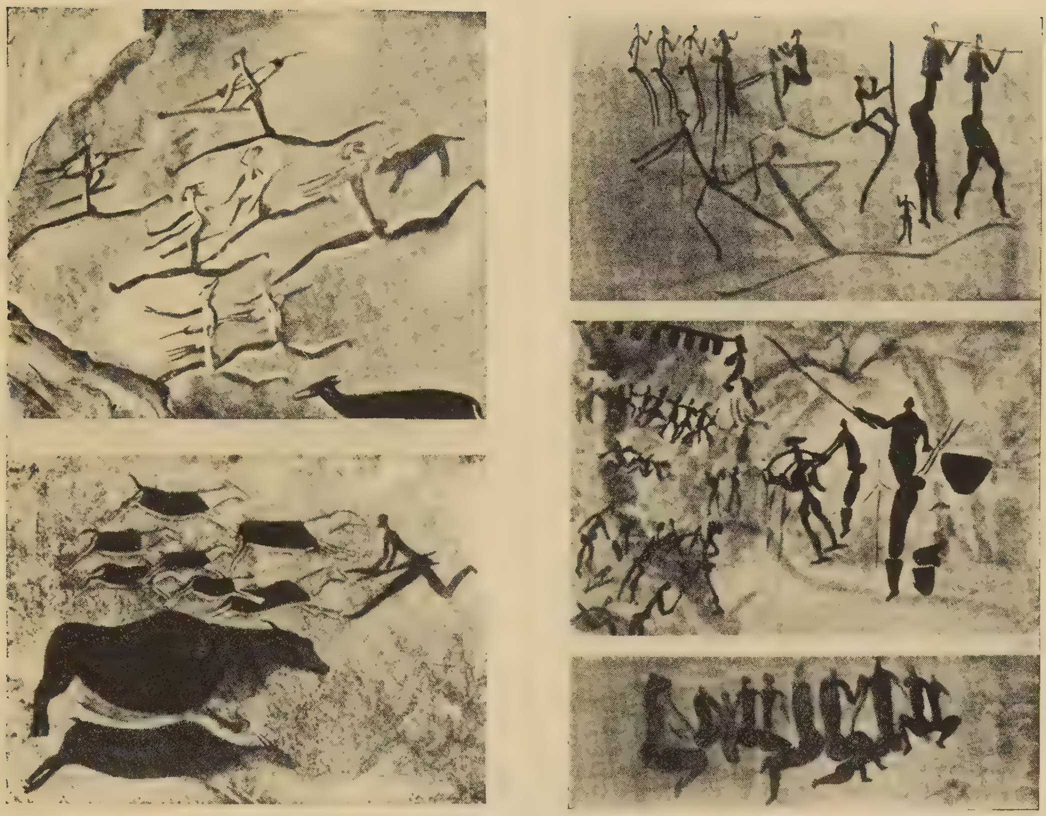

Fig. 19

Bushman Drawings.

Note similarity of representation of waist and leg ornaments.

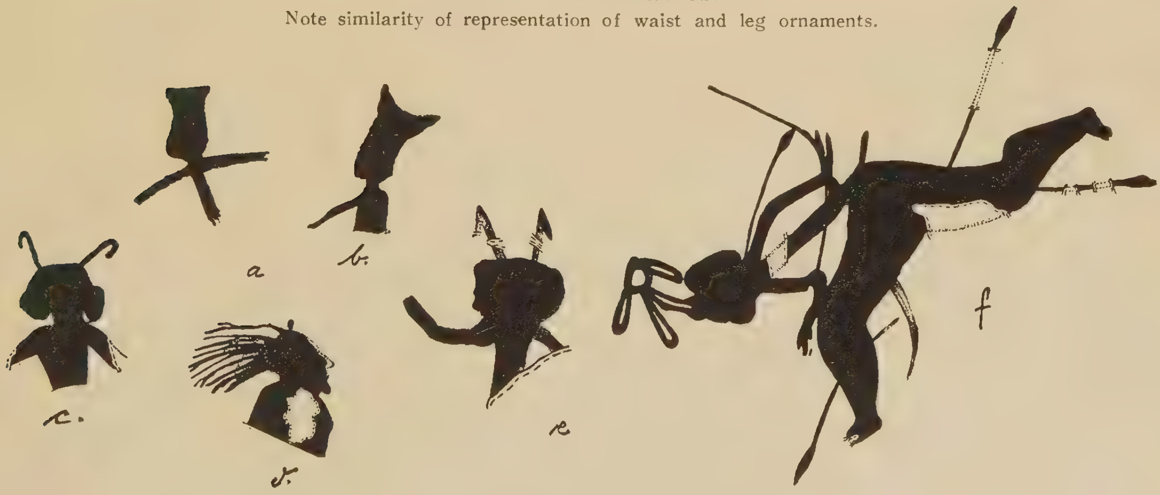

Fig. 20

Men's Headdresses and Adornments.

from the Palæolithic rock paintings of Eastern Spain. a) from Val del Charco de Agua Amargua, Teruel. b) from Alpera, Albacete. c) from Cueva de los Cabellon. d) from Alpera. e) from Cueva Rull, Castelon. f) Head of "Wounded warrior" painted in light red at the shelter of La Saltadora, Castellon. (After Obermaier.)

expanding through the possibilities offered by the boat, the horse, and the wheel. The possessive instincts, tremendously accentuated by agriculture, help to explain the skeletal remains, which show with increasing frequency a use made of the newly acquired arrows (24). War, with its multiple reactions upon dress, was shortly to outgrow the form of mere inter-tribal fights. Extra-communal contacts tremendously accelerated the progress of civilization.

A characteristic of the Neolithic period is the appearance of polished stone implements coexistent with unpolished stone implements which were produced in a different manner, however, from that employed in shaping their Palæolithic predecessors. Requirements have been heightened. The artisan is no longer satisfied with the first likely looking lump of flint which comes to hand. Flint has become a commodity of sufficient value to warrant a laborious process of mining, and we see that the best grade is often transported for long reaches by land and water. Flint of exceptional quality found its way from Pressigny (Indre-et-Loire), France, to Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and Brittany. A Neolithic workshop on the island of Elba yielded obsidian, which is foreign to that locality and apparently was transported from the mainland (25). The designs of many of the implements show that skins still played an important part as materials of dress.

Neolithic woman led a more definitely domestic existence because of textiles and the possibilities of culinary advancement inherent to the possession of agriculture and pottery. Differentiation of dress must have been correspondingly accentuated.

Many Palæolithic fashions were carried over into Neolithic times and some of them seem to have lasted well into historic epochs. Body painting and tattooing remained popular. The latter method of decoration we still have with us. Small terra cotta statuettes found at Jassy, Roumania, show geometric designs which demonstrate the manner in which it was sometimes carried out. Caesar, in *De Bello Gallico,* (V. 14) mentions body-painting as still in vogue amongst the Britons, and Pliny speaks of the use of a vegetable pigment which rendered the user "black (26) as an Ethiopian". It was spread over the entire body during religious ceremonies.

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(24) This expression is used in a very broad sense. It is probable that these Neolithic poeple had a well developed and characteristic culture before their appearance in Europe.

(25) Or perhaps even from the island of Melos, know to have been a centre for the exportation of obsidian cores destined for use in the manufacture of implements.

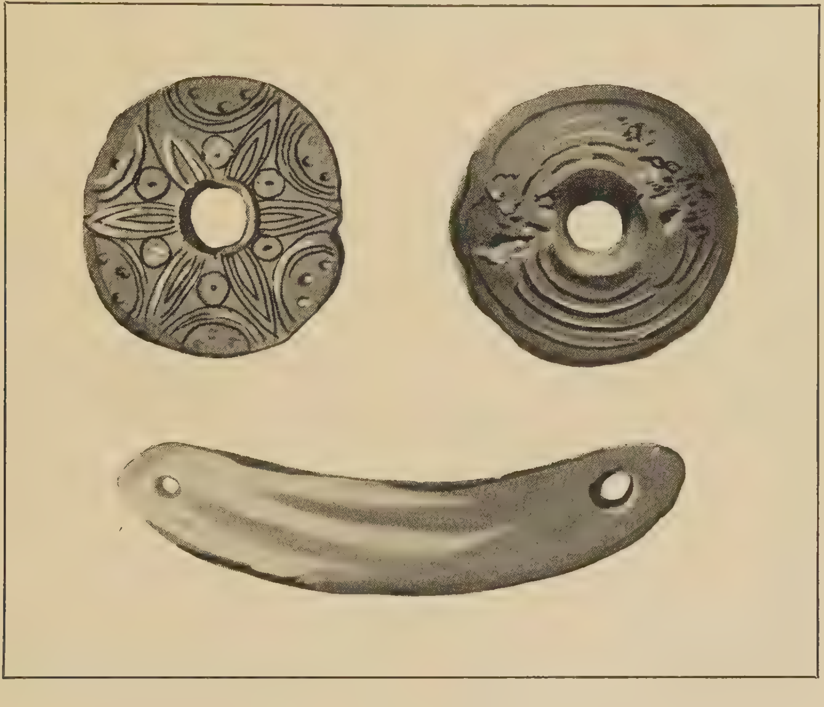

Fig. 21

Boar's tusk and Spindle.

Decorated spindle whorl from the Grotte du Pontal, Hérault.

Perforated boar's tusk forming part of an ornamental "breastplate" formed by stringing a number of these tusks in horizontally parallel positions so that they reached from the neck to the middle of the chest. Examples were found at Chancelade consisting of three rows with twelve tusks to each row.

(Musée de St. Germain.)

(26) Blue ?

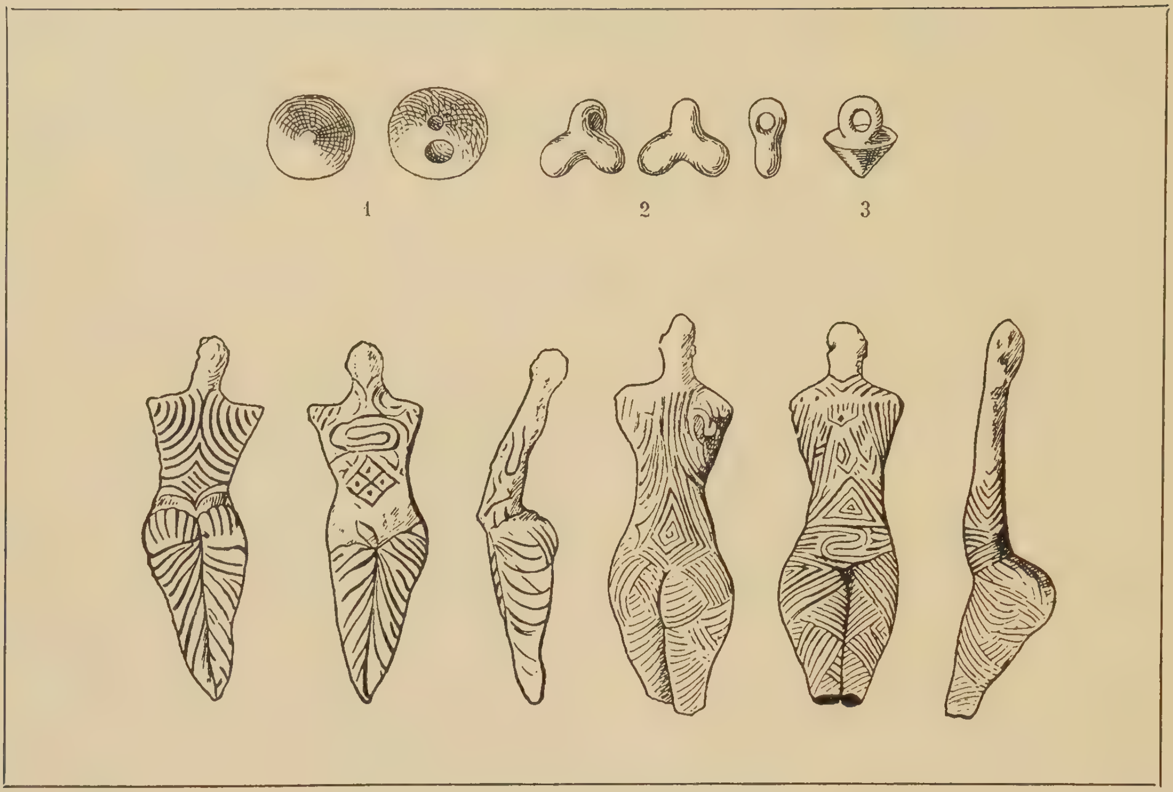

Fig. 22.

Buttons and pendants. 1. Limestone button. 2. Pendant of white limestone. 3. Bone button, from the Grotte des Morts, Garde, France. After Cazalis de Fonduce and Ollier de Marichard.

Clay figurines ornamented with incised geometric designs, from Cucuteni near Jassy, Roumania. They are perhaps of archaic origin because of religious functions thought to have been connected with their use. Showing lines which may represent drapery of the lower limbs. (?) After Hubert Schmidt. Fine flint blades diminutive in size are found from the very opening of the Neolithic period. E. de Pierpont, *Observations sur de très petits instruments en silex provenant de plusieurs stations néolithiques de la région de la Meuse.* — (Brussels 1895) makes a comparative study of these instruments with those used by the natives of the Upper Congo for the ornamentation of their bodies by tattooing and cicatrization. The similarities have been further corroborated by the discovery of colouring materials, ologist, hematite, and red ochre. Beside the Jassy figures, figures of idols from the close of the Neolithic period show marks which are generally considered to represent tattooing.

Necklaces consisting of one or many strings of various workable materials were popular. They included teeth, both those of human beings and animals, and imitations of them carved in bone. Shells, living and fossil, were strung about the neck as well as sewn upon garments, as in Palæolithic times. Beads

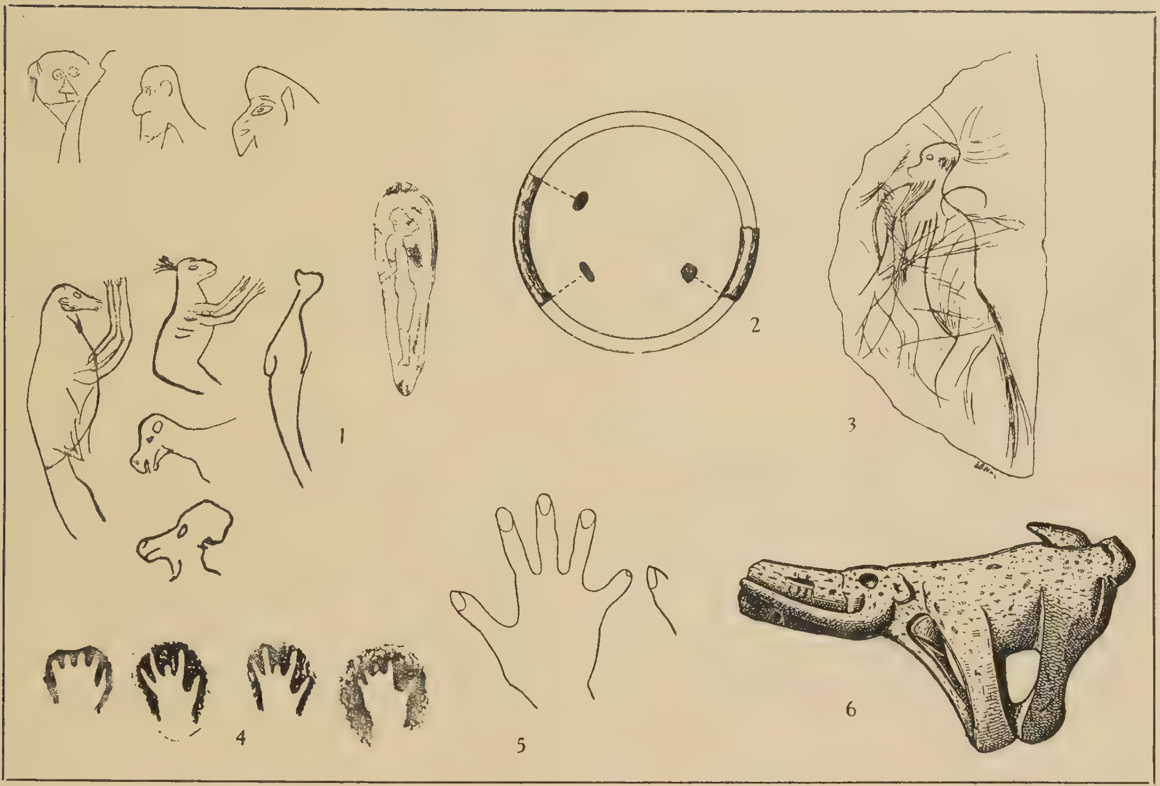

Fig. 23.

1. Engraved masked (?) figures, from Marsoulas, Altamira, Combarelles and La Madeleine. Aurignacian and Magdalenian. (After Obermaier and Capitan.)

2. Aurignacian ivory ring from the Grotte de Paviland.

3. "Sorcerer", from Lourdes. Musée St. Germain. After Count Begouen.

4. Silhouettes of hands with amputated digits, from the cave at Gargas.

5. Mutilated Bushman hand seen from the back (After Virchow). Aurignacian.

   This custom of amputating the fingers is practised in different parts of the world for different reasons. Among the Bushmen to express grief, (Burchell, Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa, II, p. 61, 1824.) among the Hottentots as a cure for sickness (Patterson, A Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots... 1779, p. 117) among the Pigmies, The Tinglit and Haida of Canada to "cut off death", (Boas, Report of the N. W. Tribes of Canada p. 837) Among the North American Indians, as offerings to the deities, or to show grief. In Tonga also as an offering, (Cook, Voyages, Second Voyage, 1773, p. 255.) In Fiji, New Guinea, the Nicobar islands, Australia, certain tribes of India, (Tylor, Primitive Culture ii, p. 400) etc. Thus great antiquity and its presence among numerous isolated people may permit of the conclusion of a monophyletic origin.

6. Pendant in the form of a mammoth carved in reindeer horn, Magdalenian from the Abri de Plantade at Bruniquel. "A statuette presenting the general form of the mammoth with some fantastic features. It formed a part of a pendant of which the shank, terminating with a perforation, has been broken. The tusks were laid against this shank and strengthened it. The incisions bordered by notches suggest the nostrils of some imaginary monster. The trunk seems to grow out of the neck, not the head. The tail having been broken off in palæolithic times, the owner made a hole in the back and inserted one there. The material was too thin to admit of representing the proper thickness of the animal. It was made to be viewed from the side". Another theory is that it may have formed the handle of a dagger.

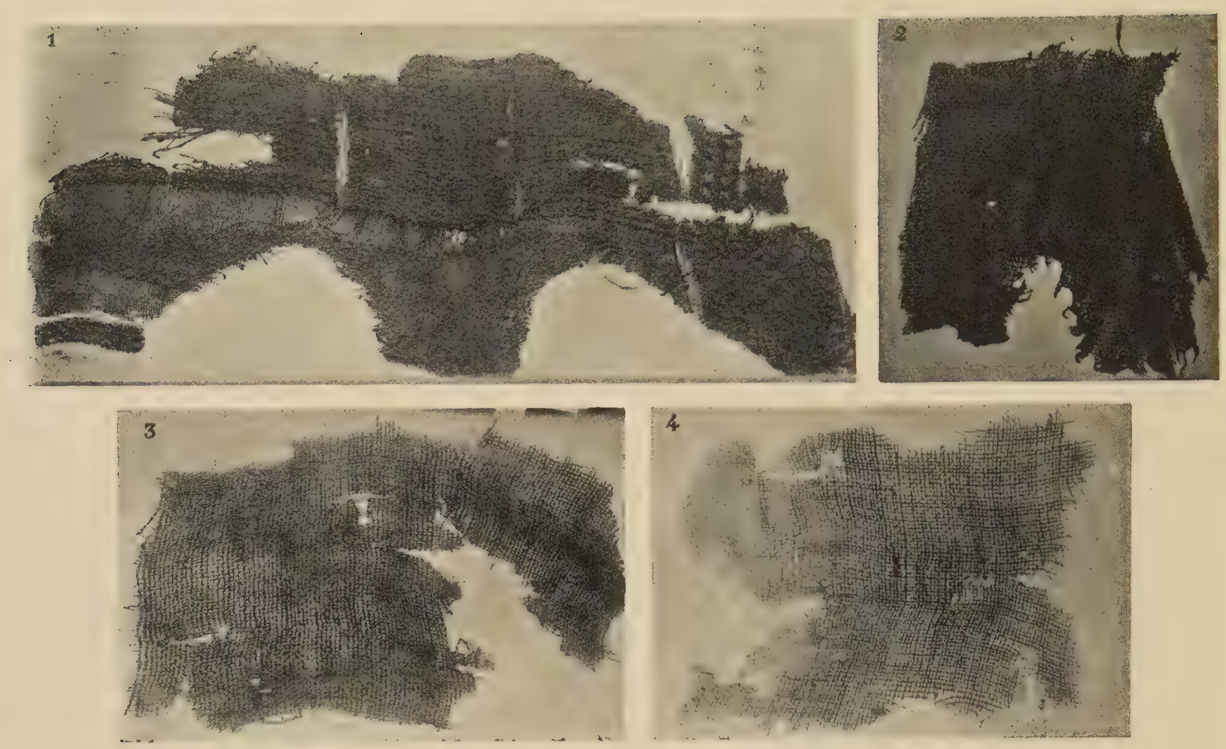

Fig. 24.

Examples of Neolithic Weaving
from Wangen and Robenhausen, Switzerland.

Figs. 1 and 2 are examples of plaited cloth. The other specimens were made by some weaving apparatus. (After Mac Curdy). Spindle weights and loom whorls were discovered in two Swiss Lake villages. It seems that primitive man learned by degrees that relatively short animal and vegetable fibres could be twisted together to form the required threads. The first process is scutching, stipping and cleaning the fibres which are straightened by carding; and those carded filaments are drawn out into an even rove, spinning. Examples of both taffeta and twill were found at Robenhausen, and embroidery was sometimes practised in conventionalized designs. Dyeing was known in Neolithic times, and perhaps the colour most difficult to obtain and employ may have already been in use for the garments of chiefs or other powerful personages in which case enduring mental associations would automatically spring up. This theory is to some extent dependent upon certain as yet unproved hypotheses in connection with psycho-prismatism in its relation to aesthetics.

made of steatite, gypsum, slate, lignite, limestone, jet, amber, jade and a species of turquoise, were prized. Rarer were those made of harder substances, such as quartz, flint, amethyst, and serpentine. They were usually discoidal or globular in form, but cylindrical, biconical and aberrant forms have been found. Among the ornaments of a votive or religious nature were small polished stone axes, perforated to allow of their being strung and worn around the neck.

This axe form developed into a symbol of no small importance, and we see a continuation of its use among the prehellenic Aegeans and elsewhere. Another extremely curious form of ornament, doubtless of a similar nature, were the pieces of human skull, by-products of the well known Neolithic trepanning operations. They were trimmed around the edges and perforated in one or more places to allow of their use as amulets. Flint daggers are so common that they must have been almost universally worn. Nephrite and jadeite were greatly valued, both as ornaments and for the manufacture of especially fine implements. Their source of origin, as well as that of the turquoise (*callais*) mentioned above, remains a mystery. Numerous bracelets, some of them very beautiful, were made of schist, flint and other materials.

Textiles were dyed, red (hematite), yellow (Yellow Weed, *Reseda Luteola*), and a sort of blue (Danewort, *Sambucus Ebulus*). Cloth was decorated by embroidery, in conventional designs usually based upon animal motifs. Tassels and fringes have been found in the Swiss Lake-dwellings at Robenhausen.

The use of fabrics implies a different technique from that used in making garments of skins. It is highly probable that garments of Neolithic type have come down to us and that forms originating in this period were worn by European peasants, in isolated districts, as late as the end of the eighteenth century.

Coiffure seems to have played a most important rôle in the costume of Neolithic times, as is attested by the presence of the numerous pins and ornaments.

There was a Neolithic trepanning operation, which was performed only upon women, where the skull was scraped in the form of a T. One explanation of this custom is that it had to do with the dressing of the hair (27). This seems most improbable, but, if true, it is the example, *par excellence,* of the

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(27) See Mac Curdy, *Human Origins,* vol. II, p. 166, quoting Manouvrier.

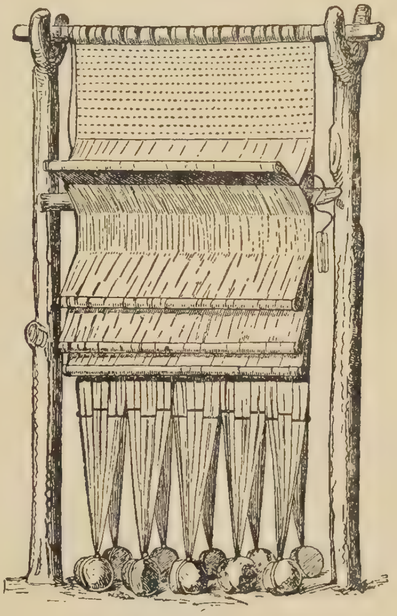


Fig. 25.

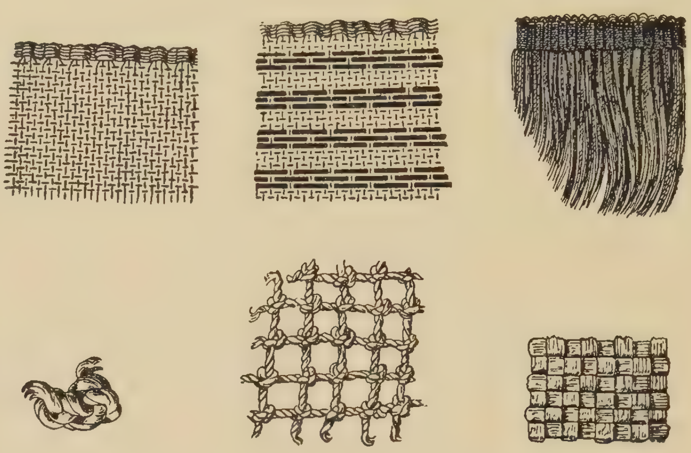


Fig. 26.

Fig. 25. — Neolithic loom reconstructed by Keller. Paur found that he could make a number of designs easily with a simple loom of this type. Braiding, the first step towards the manufacture of textiles, made its appearance in the early neolithic. Weaving seems to have been a natural and easy transition. The Neolithic species of flax, "Linum augustifolium", still occurs spontaneously in Mediterranean countries. Hemp was unknown. This loom was reconstructed largely after figures of Greek looms, in which the weights and other parts are similar to those from the Lake Dwellings. The Greek looms which date about 500 B.C. were doubtless very similar to the Neolithic ones.

Fig. 26. — Weaving and nets from Robenhausen (Switzerland).

amount of pain which may be undergone in connection with dress.

Neolithic man was in a tribal stage of society. The remains in Brittany and England prove that, sometimes at least, great numbers of people were gathered together, and remained together a sufficient length of time to erect some of the remarkable monuments, which obviously required both a prolonged and concerted effort (a proceeding only possible among agriculturists). Caste must have been an ever growing factor. The tremendous amount of pains taken in the burial of certain individuals shows clearly enough the amount of importance which must have been attached to their persons during their lifetime.

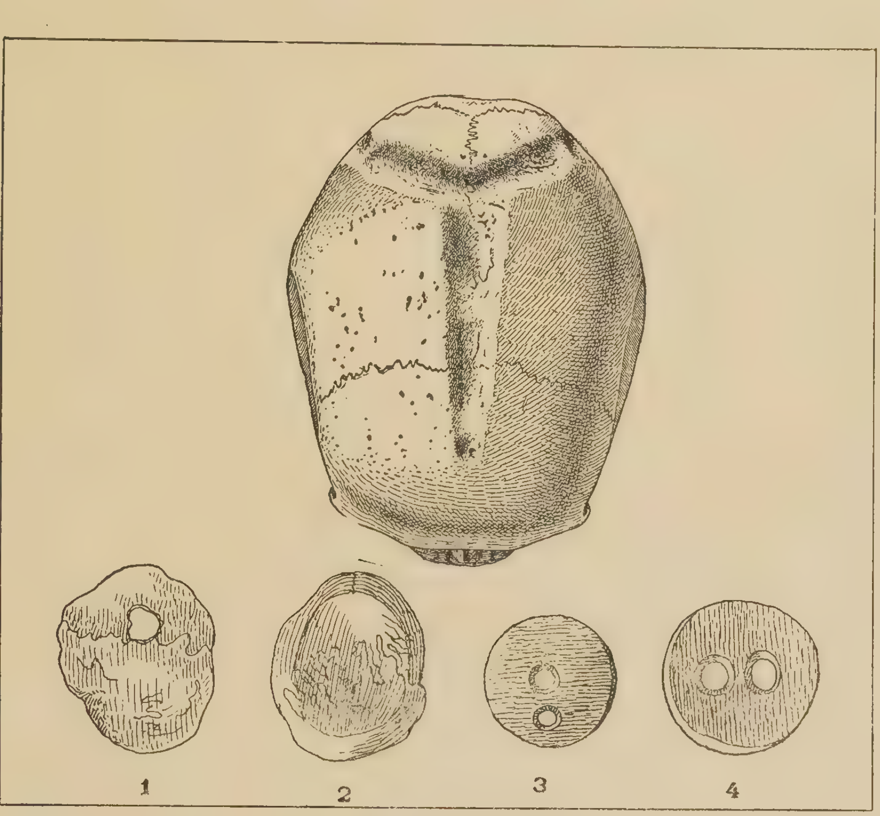


Fig. 27.

Sincipitally cicatrised Neolithic cranium, from the dolmen of Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, Seine-et-Oise, France, 1, 2, 3 and 4, Cranial amulets from the Neolithic artificial caves of the valley of Petit-Morin, Marne, France. (After Déchelette.) Manouvrier suggests that the markings on the skulls may be connected with practices having to do with religion, war, penal justice, mourning, therapeutics or coiffure. See B.S.A. 1903 p. 492 for examples of this practice in the Canaries, and B.S.A. 1904, p. 55; Herodotus. V. IV p. 188 for Lykia. For central Asia (B.S.A. 1897, p. 501). The cranian amulets are among the most singular of Neolithic forms. These perforated fragments result from the trepanning operation. Bellucci cites amongst the modern amulets of the Umbria, a round fragment of cranium posthumously removed which was supposed to possess qualities in the treatment of epilepsy and the convulsions of children. Other ornaments, which seem definitely to have a symbolic or votive connection, are the axe forms, imitation teeth, triangular pendants, and those in the form of a crescent.

Religious activities change their direction from the life-supporting game to the life-supporting grain. Ceremonial, with its incumbent personal decoration, becomes ever more important. The Sun and the Serpent make their appearance never to disappear. Their influence on dress has been incalculable.

Unfortunately no complete vestments have been found of an earlier date than that of the Bronze Age (28). We must therefore base conclusions on such incomplete documents as the drawings which have been mentioned, and a study of primitive peoples living in a Neolithic stage of culture, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

(28) It must not be overlooked that only the durable portions of Neolithic clothing have come down to us. Such objects as skins, animal fibres of any kind, feathers, etc., while they may have played an important part in Neolithic dress, have, because of their nature, become irretrievably lost.

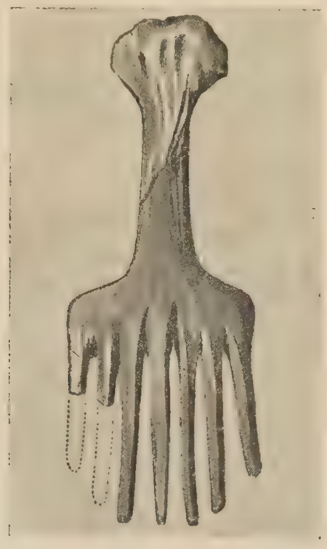


Fig. 28.
Comb of bone
from a Danish "kitchen-midden".
(After Montelius.)

ALPHABETIC LIST (By Countries) OF SOME OF THE CAVES YIELDING THE PRINCIPAL PALÆOLITHIC FINDS HAVING RELATION TO CLOTHING.

AUSTRIA

GUDENUS. — Cave near Krems : Engraved needlecase of bird bone.

WILLENDORF. — Nude female figure known as "Venus of Willendorf" (note Coiffure) Late Aurignacian.

BELGIUM

COLEOPTERE (Le). — Insect carved in ivory with two holes for suspension. Magdalenian.

GOYET. — Baton of reindeer horn. Aurignacian.

MAGRITE. — Human figurine carved in ivory.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRUNN. — Ivory statuette of human figure. Solutrean.

KULNA. — Ornamented bone objects, Magdalenian.

PREDMOST. — Six female figures on mammoth bone. Female figurine engraved on ivory Aurignacian.

FRANCE

AURENSAN. — Human figure engraved on slate.

BEDEILHAC. — Figures of the human hand in black.

BERNIFAL. — Tectiforms.

BOUT-DU-MONDE (LE). — Perforated Baton. Magdalenian.

BRASSEMPOUY. — Human figurines of ivory, including "Venus of Brassempouy". Aurignacian.

BRUNIQUEL. — Batons.

COLOMBIERE. — Human figures engraved on bone. Magdalenian or Aurignacian.

COMBARELLES. — Masked heads, Aurignacian.

CRÔ-MAGNON. — Engraving on bone of a woman in full length profile. Period doubtful.

CROUZADE (LA). — Bone Pendant with dotted ornament. Magdalenian.

DAVID. — Ten or more figures of the human hand in red ochre ; engraved figures of men (ithyphallic) followed by women with pendant breasts. Aurignacian or Magdalenian.

DUFAURE ET DURUTHY. — Human figure under a tectiform.

EYZIES (LES). — Engraving on a rib of stylistic human figures, each with a staff on the shoulder ; human hands.

FONT-DE-GAUME. — Tectiforms ; human hands.

GORGE D'ENFER. — Baton of reindeer horn carved to represent a double phallus.

GOURDAN. — Anthropomorphic figures. (Wearing Masks ?) Magdalenian.

LAUGERIE-BASSE. — Carving known as "Femme au Renne". "Venus Impudique" Magdalenian needles and awls with tools for their manufacture. Bone buttons ; toggle ; human figures on reindeer horn ; etc. A very rich Palæolithic station.

Laussel. — "Venus of Laussel" bearing signs of having been painted ; other figurines, flint implements.

Lespugne. — "Venus".

Liveyre. — Engraved stone pendants.

Lourdes. — Horsehead pendants, conventionalized animal designs ; "Disguised" dancing figure.

Madeleine. — Bone needles ; Human figures. A very rich station.

Mas d'Azil. — Anthropomorphic figures. (Masked ?)

Mege. — Masked (Chamois Head) figures. Magdalenian.

Nieux. — Drawings of game represented as wounded by darts.

Pair-non-Pair. — Facsimile of a *Cypraea* shell carved from ivory with a large loop for suspension. Aurignacian.

Portel (Le). — Human figure.

Raymonden. — Bone button with figure of Mammoth engraved on both sides.

Rideaux (Les). — Anthropomorphic figure.

Roches (Les). — Drawings of sexual import.

Saint-Marcel. — Engraved bone pendant ; bone amulet similar to Australian "Churinga".

Serjac. — Ivory bandeaux.

Sordes. — About fifty perforated teeth.

Teyjat. — Coral amulet cut in the round ; representations of wounded game ; diminutive phallus. (See Mege) Magdalenian.

Trois Freres. — Engraved and coloured representation of masked magician probably having to do with hunting activities which dominates a series of several hundred representations of animals ; (See fig. 9) tectiforms ; imprints of human hand.

Vache (La). — Stylistic representations of the human figure.

HUNGARY

Jankovics. — Decorated ivory amulet.

ITALY

Barma Grande. — Five female figurines of the bushman type, negroid head ; male figure, artistic necklace made of the shells of *Nassa nerita* found on the skeleton of young man. It was further complicated by using stag canines and fish vertebrae to form a conscious design.

POLAND

Wierchow. — Ivory ornaments.

RUSSIA

Mezine. — Ornaments carved from ivory ; (meanders and bird). Figures with possible sexual significance.

SPAIN

Alpera. — Hunting scenes ; women costumed similarly to those at Cogul ; Male figures with bows and arrows wearing feather head-dresses. The style reminds one of the drawings of the North American Indians or the rock paintings of the Bushmen.

Batuecas. — Stylistic human figures.

CASTILLO. — Figures of human hand in red ; tectiform.

CARASOLES DEL BOSQUE. — Stylistic painting of men.

CHARCO DEL AGUA AMARGUA (EL). — Painted figures of *Homo* with females similar to those of Cogul.

COGUL. — Figures of the two sexes in black and red. (See fig. 19 and 20) represents dance or some creative ritual. The only instance in which Palæolithic art shows the human figure as clothed.

CORTIJO DE LOS TREINTA. — Stylistic human figures.

JIMENA. — Stylistic human figures in colour, with headdresses probably adorned with feather.

Representations of the human figure are common in Spanish Palæolithic Art. Evidence of costume in the form of needles etc..., lacking:

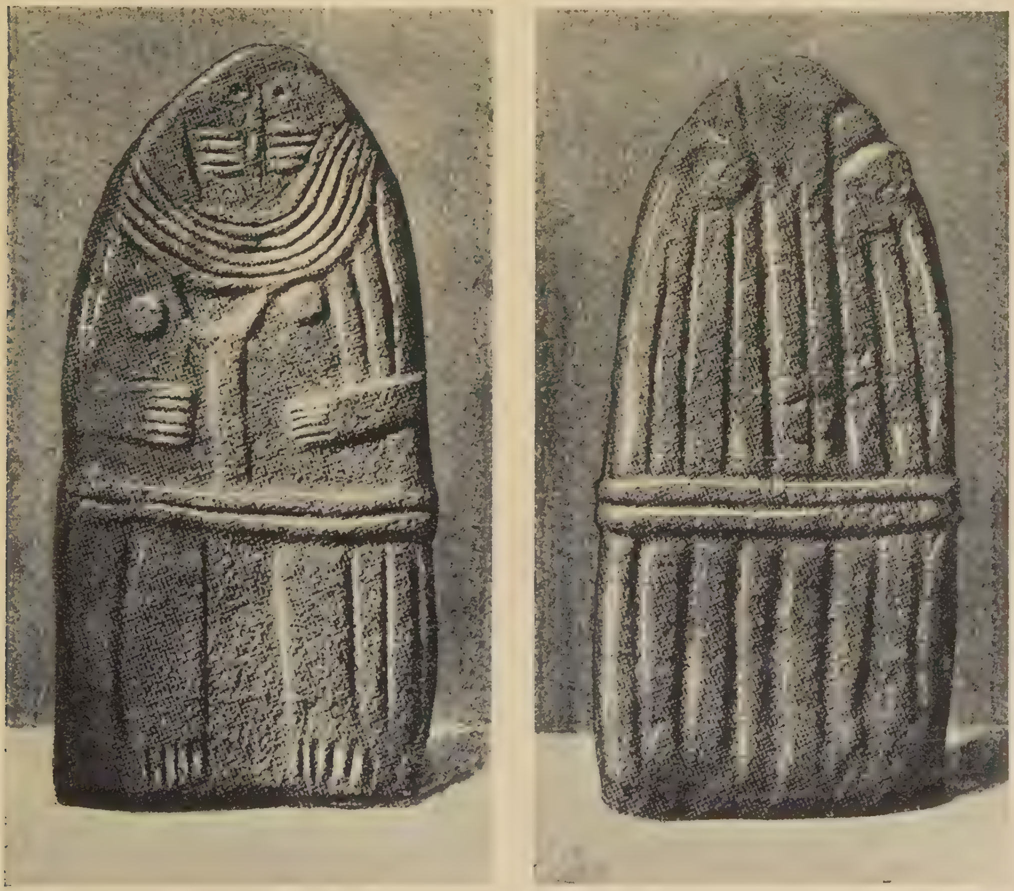


FIG. 29.

NEOLITHIC STATUE MENHIR

representing a human female, from Saint-Sernin, Aveyron, France. Collar of six rows, with pendant (?) The arms and legs, visible in the front view, are hidden at the back by a sort of one-piece garment held in place by the belt.

TABLE OF
PALÆOLITHIC PERIODS

		APPROXIMATE TIME ESTIMATES	PERIOD.	CLIMATE	GENERAL CULTURE DISTRIBUTION
Quaternary	Upper Palæolithic	15,000 20,000	Magdalenian	Cold.	Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, North Africa, China (?), India, Siberia, Syria.
			Solutrean	Dry and Cold.	Belgium, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Spain, Africa.
		25,000 30,000	Aurignacian	Cold.	Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Channel Islands, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Italy, Poland, Roumania, Russia, Spain, Algeria and Tunis, Syria.
	Lower Palæolithic	50,000	Mousterian	Cold. increasingly Dry.	Austria, Belgium, Channel Islands, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Hungary, Italy, Jugoslavia, Malta, Monaco, Poland, Portugal, Algeria and Tunis, Mauritania, Nile Valley, Asia Minor, Syria and China.
		75,000	Acheulean		Belgium, England, France, Germany, Italy, Monaco, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Algeria, Congo, Egypt, Sahara, South Africa, Tunis, Asia Minor, India, Mesopotamia, Syria.
			Chellean	Warm.	Idem
		100,000 250,000	Pre-Chellean	Warm.	France, Belgium, England, Spain.
Tertiary		500.000			England, France, Java, Senegal, Tasmania, Spain.

This table gives ; Approximate time estimates, Period, Climate, Distribution of the given culture, Races of Men, Animals which may have contributed towards the materials used for clothing, Cultural remains connected with clothing.

TYPE OF MEN	CONTEMPORARY FAUNA	CULTURAL REMAINS
Cro-Magnon.	Reindeer, Musk-ox, Steppe Horse, Antelope, Wild Ass, Lion, Ibex, Chamois, Bison, Wild Cattle, Red Deer, Stag, Forest Horse, Cave Bear, Wolf, Fox, Moose, Fallow Deer.	Flint Scrapers, Drills, Borers, Knives, Excellent Awls and Bone Needles. Bones bearing marks showing removal of tendons, Abundant colouring materials. Tattooing points (?). Masked figures, Abundant Ornaments of divers materials including Amber.
Cro-Magnon. Brunn, Predmost, Galley Hill (?)	Same as Mousterian...	Scrapers, Drill, Borers, Knives, beautifully executed in flint. Bone Awls and Needles.
Cro-Magnon. Grimaldi		Scrapers, Drills, Borers, and Knives, in abundance. "Bâtons de Commandement". Bone pins, Awls, and rudimentary eyeless Needles. Ornaments in the form of pierced Shells, Teeth, etc. Abundant Colouring materials.
Neanderthal	Reindeer, Fox, Hare, Lemming, Marmot, Steppe Horse, Cave Lion, Cave Leopard, Stag, Lynx, Wolf, Bear, Cave Bear, Musk Ox, Ermine, Weasel.	Scraper, Drill, Borer, Knife, Ornaments, (crude) Colouring materials, Burial Ornaments.
Neanderthal and Preneanderthaloid. (?)	Lion, Bison, Wild Ox, Deer, Roe Deer, Giant Deer, Brown Bear, Wolf, Badger, Otter, Marten, Beaver.	More carefully fashioned Scrapers, Drills, Borers and Knives, Crude Ornaments.
	Primitive Horse (?), Deer, Bison, Wild Cattle, etc.	Idem Crude Ornaments in the form of pierced stones, etc.
Piltdown and Heidelberg (?)	Tropical Fauna.	Rudimentary Scrapers, Drills, Borers and Knives.
Pithecanthropus.	Idem.	Eoliths (?)

A NOTE REGARDING THE GUANCHES OF THE CANARY ISLANDS.

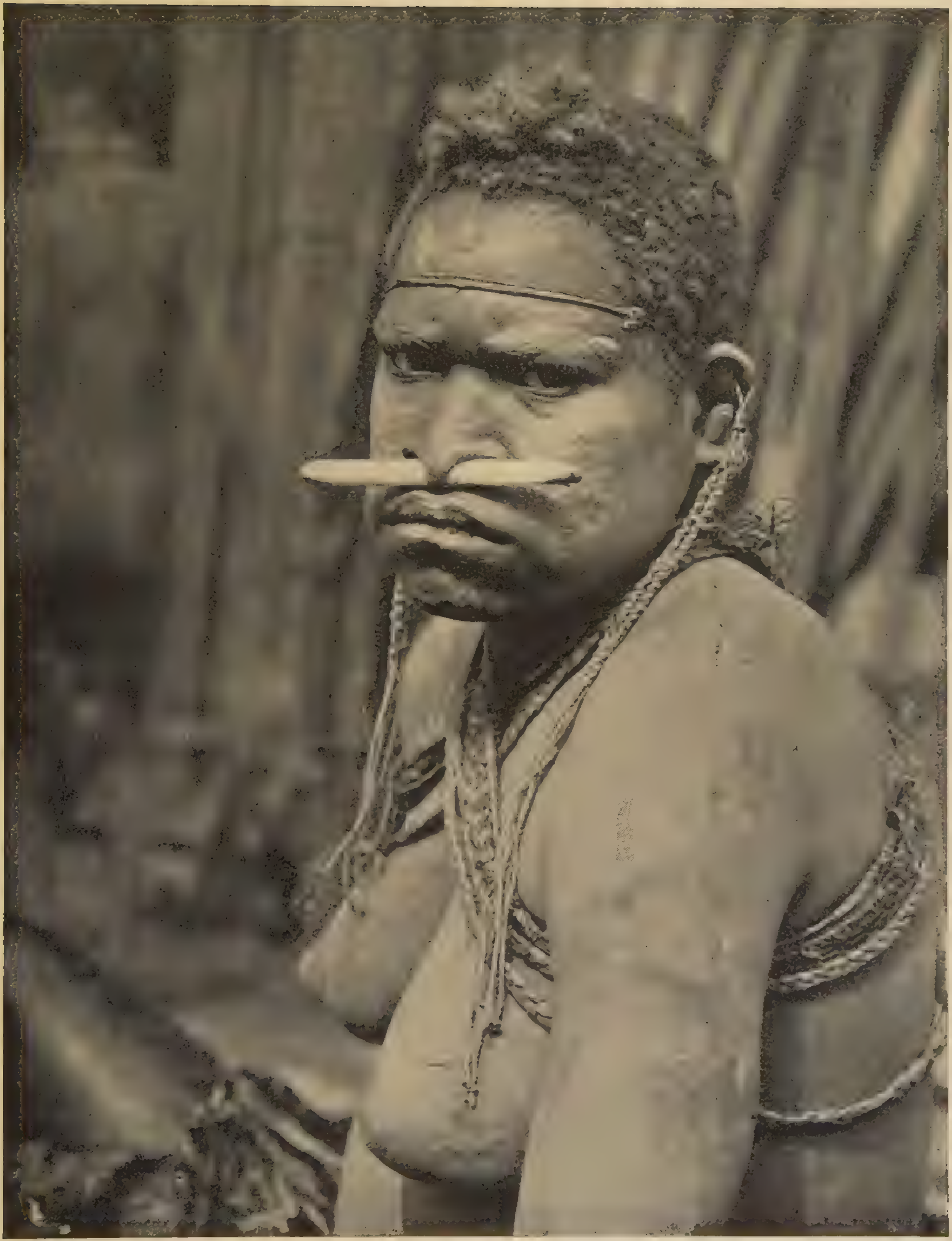
At the time of the Spanish conquest of the Canaries, in the fifteenth century, these islands were inhabited by a now extinct people called the Guanches, considered by anthropologists to have been an admixture of Crô-Magnon, Hamitic, and brachycephalic stock. They were in a Neolithic stage of civilization although they seldom polished their stone weapons. They lived in caves, which they sometimes decorated with paintings in the form of geometric designs in black, white, red, and grey. Dr Verneau states that a number of Canarians still inhabit these caves.

They wore garments of goat-skins and vegetable fibres and were fond of ornaments. The Pintadera, an implement formed of baked clay, was used like a seal for body painting, various colours being employed. They made smooth and polished beads of baked earth, in divers shapes, which they coloured red and black and used shells and wood and bone ornaments for necklaces, arranging them in different designs.

For arms they had wooden swords, the lance, club and javelin, and possibly the shield.

Little is known of their religion although they seem to have been a religious race. They had a great respect for their chieftains but the latter do not seem to have been marked by a particular differentiation in costume. They practiced polyandry and monogamy and seem to have held women in great esteem.

The climatic difference of milieu, in its effect upon comparative study of dress, should be borne in mind. It is almost certain that the mild climate of the island had a great effect upon their dress which is for this reason of much less value for comparative purposes than it would have been if the islands had a climate similar to that of the Dordogne for example.



Widow of Kaimari Papua with Nose Ornament.

(Photo by Capt. Hurley).

Pl. IV.

.III.

THE "PRIMITIVES"

"Great as is the vanity of the civilized, it is exceeded by the vanity of the uncivilized".

SPENCER.

"They are content to be naked, but ambitious to be fine".

CAPTAIN COOK (*speaking of the Fuegians*).

Both he and his people were black as sloes
For the region they lived in was torrid,
And their principal clothes were a ring through the nose
And a patch of red paint on the forehead.

THOMAS HOOD THE YOUNGER.

To our century belongs the somewhat doubtful distinction of the ability to arrange neatly in Museum cases the very last products of the rapidly diminishing number of Primitive peoples who have succeeded, through natural isolation or the poverty of their environment, in retaining some vestiges of their individual culture. Photographs of these survivors appear from time to time in the pictorial sections of the comtemporary press, accompanied by such captions as : "Noble Survivor of a Vanishing Race" or "Sambio Head Hunters. Nothing Whatever Was Known of this

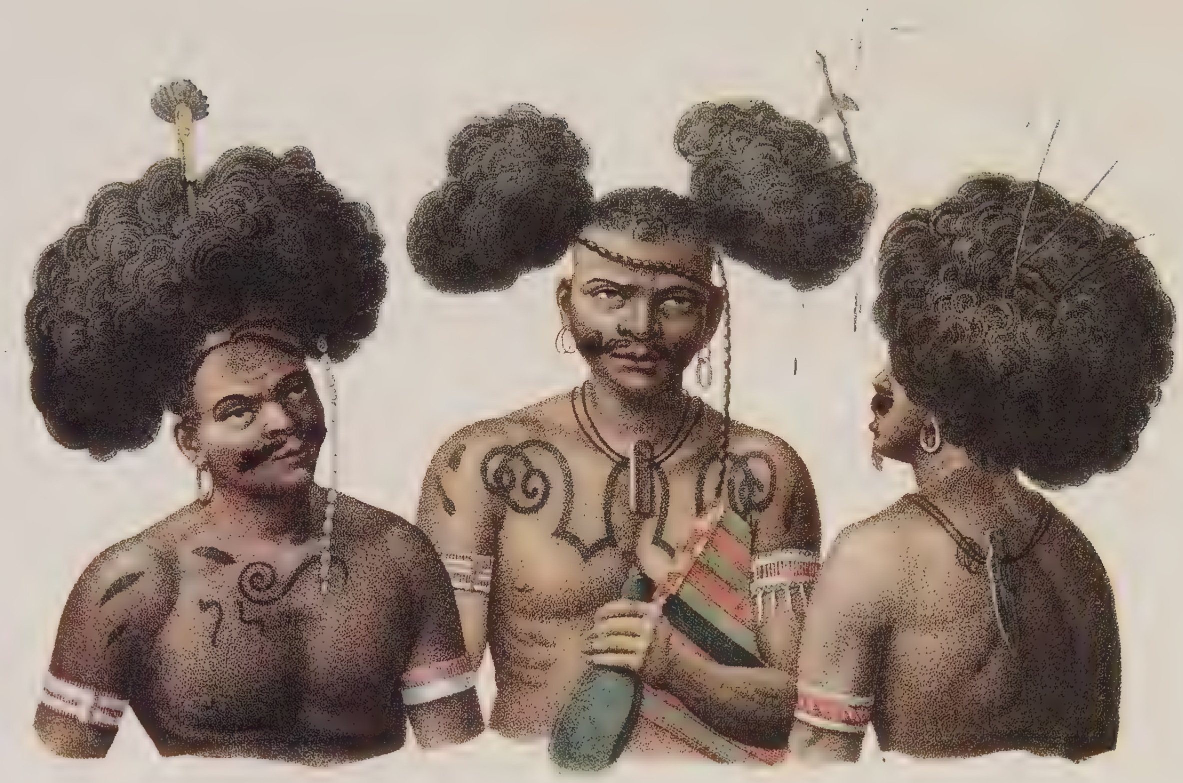
Tribe until Captain Hurley's Expedition Found Them in Their Island Home." Or again : "Former Cannibals Serve as Railway Porters", etc...

According to the current publicity of a well-known French organization supplying luxurious means of transport, the Soudan is an excellent place for the fatigued industrial to spend his precious holidays. "The Sportsman's Paradise", states the elaborately illustrated advertisement, "Up-to-Date Motor Service"... "Comfortable Hotels!"

The bell on the locomotive tolls the speedy death-knell of primitive conditions wherever it is heard. In the near future it will doubtless be a matter of a few days or even of a few hours to fly from any of the great metropolises to those parts of the globe now considered as the most inaccessible... At that date travel will be ridiculously simple, a tremendous advantage to the ethnologist of the future except that, of course, from his standpoint there will be nothing left to see. With regret it must be admitted therefore, that when the present tense is used in this chapter it is more in the nature of a somewhat sentimental convention than a matter of sober fact.

The word "primitive" has come to have an extremely vague meaning, so that it seems necessary to explain the sense in which it will be used for the purpose of this discussion. In dealing with a cultural manifestation such as costume it is only natural that a division based upon cultural factors should be employed. The following method of classification was adopted by Deniker in his ethnographical manual, *Races et Peuples de la Terre.* The peoples falling under the first heading of this division will be the ones treated of in this chapter.

1. Uncivilized Peoples. — (Primitives) In a stage where progress is extremely slow; without writing, possessing sometimes a pictography, living in small groups of some hundreds or thousands of individuals. These are divided into two categories :



NATURELS DE LA NOUVELLE-GUINÉE

Hunters (*e. g.* Bushmen, Australians, Fuegians, etc.) and *Agriculturists* (*e. g.* North American Indians, Melanesians, and most Negroes).

2. Semi-Civilized Peoples. — Showing appreciable but slow progress, in which the "conservation of that already acquired" is the dominating element; societies of some thousands or millions of individuals; ideographic or phonetic system of writing, a rudimentary literature. They are also divided into two categories: *Agriculturists* (*e. g.* Chinese, Siamese, Abyssinians, Malays, Ancient Egyptians and Peruvians) and *Nomads* (*e. g.* Mongols and Arabs).

3. Civilized Peoples. — Showing rapid progress with "inventive initiative" the predominating element. Individual liberty. States of many million individuals. Phonetic writing and literature developed. Cosmopolitan mercantile industrialism.

Grosse (1) claims that the production of a given people is the best indication of their culture stage; further, forms of art follow forms of production, and among primitive peoples costume is primarily an artistic manifestation whatever the reasons for its original adaptation or ultimate use may be. Even in the protective dress of the Eskimo, which at first glance seems to form the exception to prove the rule, aesthetic influences are not quite lacking, although this dress forms the prime example of how far environment may go toward affecting aesthetic expression.

For several reasons costume is an excellent, though hitherto much neglected criterion in the study of primitive culture stages. First, because it is the most primitive form of all decoration (the body was the first of all surfaces to have been ornamented); and, secondly, by a study of costume alone the expert can almost always form conclusions regarding social organization, religious and aesthetic activities. Indeed, in the two most important of primitive occupations, food getting and propagation, costume plays a most important rôle. None of the ceremonies so significant in the life of savages goes unaccompanied by manifestations in connection with dress ; and, as the savage is far from inefficient in his constant struggle with his environment, it seems certain that ornament must possess a real utilitarian value which is as yet but little understood.

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(1) *The Beginnings of Art.*

Darwin gave a good-sized piece of red cloth to a Fuegian who, from our standpoint, was certainly in need of protective clothing; but, instead of using it for this purpose, the recipient tore it up into small pieces and distributed them amongst his companions who immediately employed them as ornaments; while instances of the priority of ornament over clothing in the primitive scheme of life are too numerous to mention. "One may say without exaggeration", says Lippert (2), "that primitive man puts upon his body all those objects which may serve as ornaments, upon which he can lay hands, and that he places them upon every portion of his anatomy capable of carrying one".

The means and methods of ornamenting the human body are indeed only limited by the natural form inherent to it, and in fact this form is quite often changed to meet more fully the conceptions of the artist preoccupied with his medium. The technique of bodily decoration makes possible a division of it into two main classes.

1. Decoration of the body itself, either by means of painting, tattooing or otherwise mutilating its surface — including methods of colouring, arranging or transforming the form of the hair. Tattooing and mutilation are called "fixed" ornamentation.

2. The attachment of divers objects and substances to the body by numerous means, sometimes in connection with mutilation. This method is classified as "mobile" — body-painting and coiffure really forming connecting links between the two forms.

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(2) *History of Civilization.*

Among these forms body-painting is perhaps the simplest and may well have been the first to have been employed (3). With the single exception of the Eskimo, whose dress precludes its effective use, it exists with all primitive peoples. In a few cases, as among the Hottentots and Schillouk, it is used as a protection against insects, as evidenced by the fact that the entire body is covered as completely as possible, and no attention

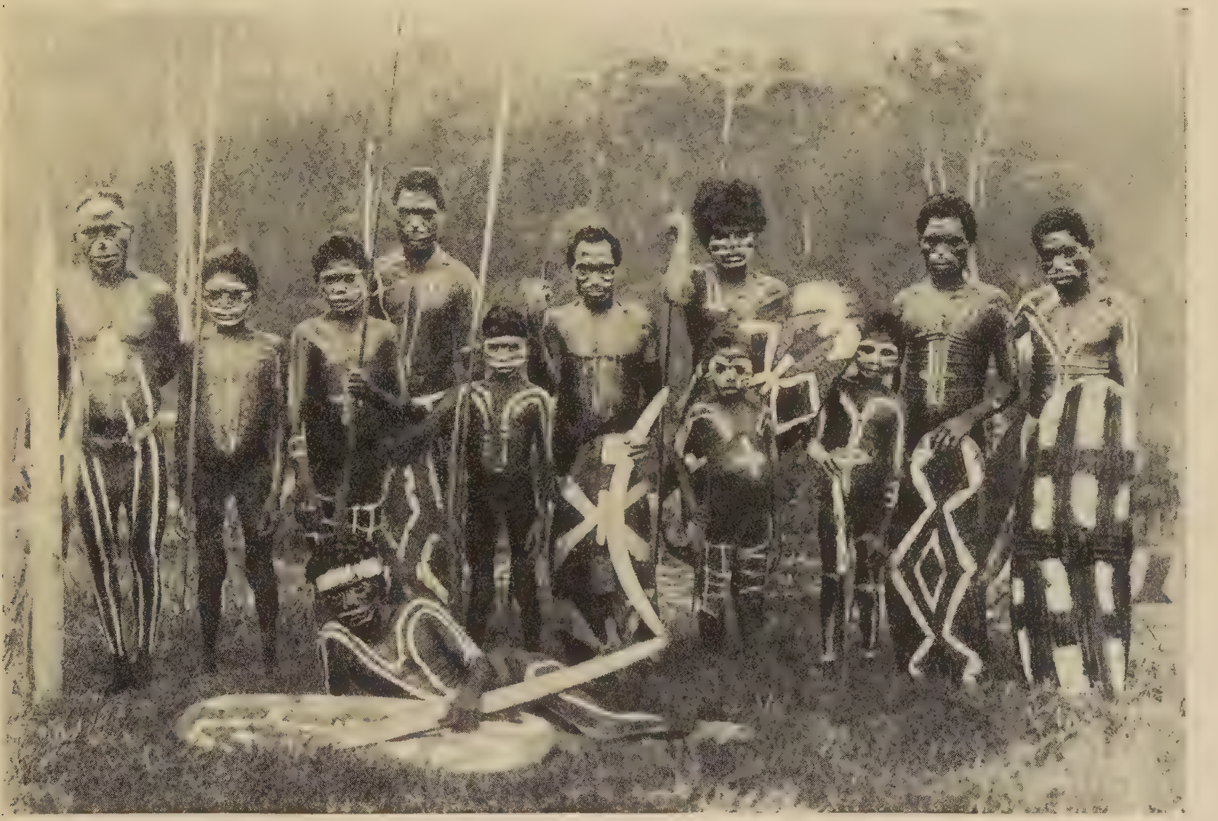

Fig. 30.

Natives of Queensland Decorated for War-Dance. Note the nose ornaments. (Photo Otto Haeckel, Berlin).

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(3) Kohler's remarks anent this proclivity in chimpanzees would tend to strengthen this supposition, although there is less proof of an aesthetic connection in this case than in that of the portable ornaments. Prehistoric evidence of the use of body-painting is found at a very early date, while pigments have been discovered in connection with Neanderthal burials where portable forms of ornaments were lacking.

is paid to decoration in the form of stripes or spots, while the colour value of the materials is lacking. These protective instances, however, are so rare as rather to be in the form of exceptions. And, where they do exist, they seem to have no connection with the cases where the practice owes its existence to the other factors responsible for the great majority of cases.

Body-painting owes its aesthetic value to the contrast of the given pigment with that of the skin of the wearer, and this fact savages are well aware of, as the popularity of different colours varies largely according to the colour variations of skins in different localities, darker shades finding favour with the lighter skinned races, such as the Bushmen, Botocudos, and North American Indians, while the lighter and more brilliant colours find favour among the darker skinned Australians, Melanesians and Negroes.

Red is the colour enjoying the most universal popularity, and this fact has been the subject of several explanations. Its use is made possible by the wide distribution of substances yielding the desirable red pigment.

THE RELIGIOUS EXPLANATION. — Elliot Smith (4) attributes the use of red in prehistoric burials and among savage peoples to its connection with the colour of blood, and, reasoning that to primitive man death was usually merely the result of a loss of blood, suggests that the partiality for red in funeral ceremonies arose from a desire to reanimate the corpse by giving back to it this necessary substance, represented in this case by a pigment of a similar colour (5). In this connection St. Ambrose made a curious mistake when he described what he thought to be the skeletons of the martyrs Gervasius and Prostasius, as stained with the blood of martyrdom, "Hic sanguis clamat coloris indico", for Salomon Reinach asserts that the worthy Ambrose struck a prehistoric tomb of red earth, chosen because of the power of this colour in *driving away demons.* And although these and similar speculations may explain certain burial customs, it is more probable that red owes its popularity in bodily decorations to other reasons.

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(4) *Evolution of the Dragon.*

(5) The fact that certain primitives allow blood to flow over the corpse, and, conversely, that other primitive people daub themselves with the blood of the corpse might tend to strengthen this supposition.

PRIMITIVE AESTHETICS. — The remarkable keenness of vision of prehistoric man is demonstrated by his ability to draw animals in motion with a correctness corroborated by the quick action camera shutter, while that of the natural races is indicated by their remarkable observation as employed in hunting and tracking. Their sensibility to colour is much more doubtful. Hugo Magnus (6), was of the opinion that there has been a gradual evolution of the colour sense, and that the range of colour perceptivity widens with the progress of civilization. He thought that colour sensibility was developed in accordance with the order of the solar spectrum, the more vivid reds and yellows being perceived before the weaker blues and greens. The Vedas, the Zend-Avesta, the Bible and the Homeric poets are brought in to substantiate this theory and attention is called to the fact that red and yellow are often mentioned, while the blue of the skies and the green of the trees are seldom, if ever, remarked. In the Iliad, the rainbow is described as red or purple. (The purple of the ancients is now believed to have been much more reddish than our present colour of that name.) Goethe, in speaking of the Pythagoreans, says : "If the Pythagoreans never mention blue, we must once more remind ourselves that blue has so much affinity with dark and obscure tints that they may long have been confused." Some students attribute this apparent lack

(6) *Die geschichtliche Entwickelung des Farbensinnes.*

of sensibility to faulty translation (7), but other experiments in the same direction seem in the main to strengthen Dr. Magnus' theory. Frederic Christol, a painter who lived for some time in South Africa, makes the following statement in his book *l'Art dans l'Afrique australe,* (he arrived at his conclusions independently of Magnus, whose work he had never read). "Their (the natives) knowledge of colour is very elementary; they have no perception of blue, which they confound with grey; it is the same with violet, orange, and other intermediate tones which are indistinguishable to their Daltonian vision. Nevertheless, they recognize green, which does not exist for other natives, notably those of the Gaboon."

In experiments made with children, similar results are obtained. When children speak of colour they almost always think of red, and it is notorious that the red block in a child's set of paints is always the first to be used up.

Victorious Roman generals painted the body red until the disappearance of the Republic, and even the practical German army guarded touches of this colour on their "field-grey" uniforms when they invaded Belgium in 1914. The powerful attraction of red is not overlooked by American advertising men who consider it the "first colour to be used in poster advertising".

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(7) Ratzel (*The History of Mankind,* v. i. p. 35) claims that authorities who base their assertions upon "the unproved assumption that expression corresponds exactly to perception" are in error which springs chiefly from their faulty acquaintance with primitive tongues. But further on he states that both "copiousness and deficiency (of colour terms in a language) spring from immaturity. We just as often find the same name used to denote different colours, as the most different names applied to the same colour. This is merely the copiousness of confusion and no token of high development" (?) Alfred Kirchoff wrote that the Australians of Queensland had a list of almost seventy colour-names. The Samoyed and the Herreros have numerous terms to designate the colour (?) of reindeer and cattle, respectively, but it seems far more likely that in these or similar cases the words denote darkness or lightness of the animals rather than their true colour, as these same Herreros do not scruple to use the same word for the colour of the meadows and that of the sky. The subject seems for the present hopelessly involved, the seventy colour terms of the Queenslanders, if they really exist as such, being sufficient in number to exceed those used by the great majority of trained civilized artists.

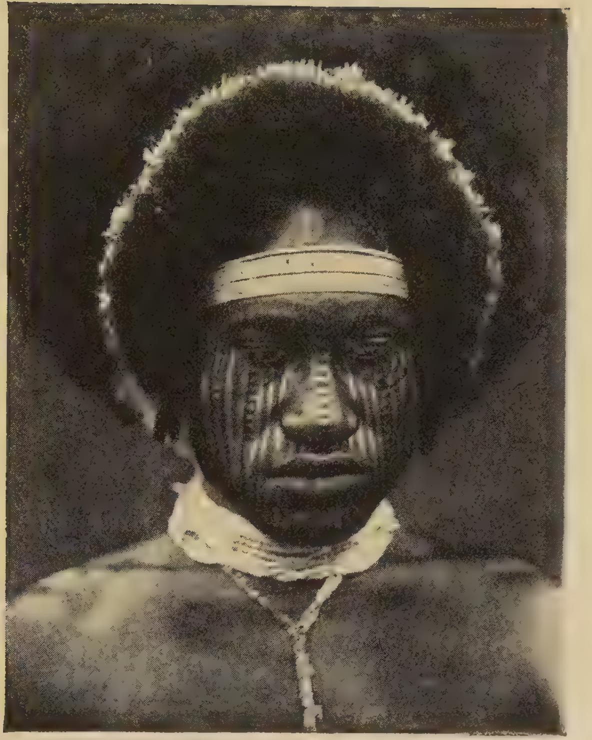

Fig. 31.

Man of British New Guinea.
(Photo Field Mus. Chicago)

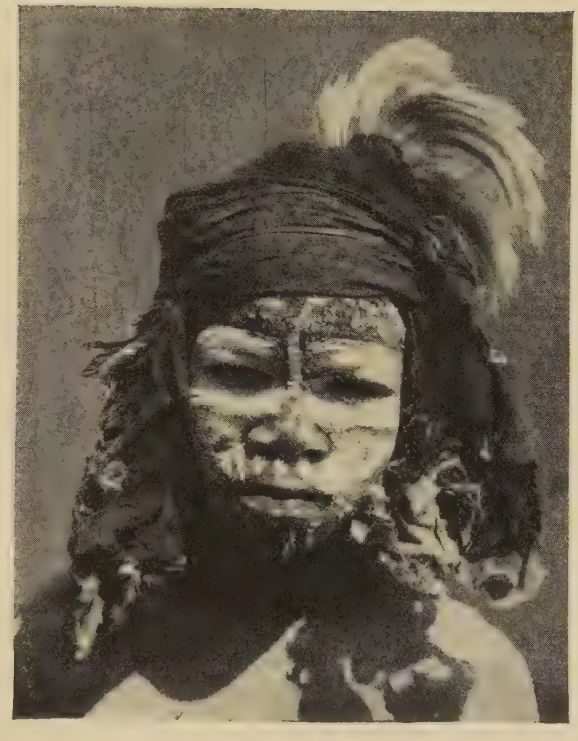

Fig. 32.

Face-Painting in French Congo.
(Photo Aubert).

Waitz-Gerland (*Anthropologie der Naturvoelker II.* 738) claims that the use of red by the Australians for painting dead bodies is ornamental in nature, and similar to the custom of civilized peoples in using flowers. Goethe (8) states that "the active force here arrives at its highest development of energy, and that it is not astonishing that healthy people, energetic and rude, like this colour particularly. One observes among all savages a certain predilection for red". Such facts coupled with the results of experiments performed by the writer with chimpanzees and children, point to the correctness of Grosse (9) when he says "The aesthetic value of red is so considerable and so easy to

(8) *Farbenlehre*, 775.
(9) *Op. cit.*

comprehend, that there is really no need to attribute to this colour a hypothetical religious significance to explain its universal popularity".

Black is used by black people to heighten the effect of their natural endowment of pigmentation, apparently in much the same fashion as the powder puff so very frequently resorted to by civilized ladies for similar reasons. Lumholtz says that the inhabitants of Queensland painted themselves black, "as if they were not black enough without that" (10), recalling the embarassment of the saleswoman when a particularly dark "lady of colour" demanded "natural" face powder. This "painting of the lily" doubtless also serves as a foundation for the application of lighter tones.

White patches may be used by the dusky belle in a similar way to the beauty spots so popular in the XVIIIth century, while black comes to occupy about the same place among the yellow races that white does amongst the blacks.

Reasons for painting the body. — The Australians are excellent subjects for a study of body painting, especially when a search for its origin is being made, as they have not only been intensively studied, so that there is an abundance of authentic material from which to draw conclusions, but they are apparently the people in the lowest stage of culture and therefore nearest the primitive type. Inveterate painters, they carry about on their persons a supply of materials for daily and ceremonial use.

Frazer is doubtless correct when he says that primitive man

(10) Marco Polo, *Travels*, Liv. III. chap. xx, (The Province of Maabar [Malabar]), says, "In this province the natives, although black, are not born of so deep a dye as they afterwards attain by artificial means, esteeming blackness the perfection of beauty. For this purpose, three times every day, they rub the children over with oil of sesame. The images of their deities they represent black, but the devil they paint white, and assert that all the demons are of that colour." Although this anointing with oil is customary in more than one locality of India it is a question as to whether it might actually affect the natural pigmentation of the skin. It is however possible that the natives might believe it to possess some such properties, in which case it forms a remarkable parallel with the European custom of lotions of different sorts "for whitening and beautifying the skin."

is prone to the performance of various rites in respect to all the more important crises of his life, and that of his family, class, phratry and totem-kin. With the uncivilized, the magico-religious side of the nature is ever dominant. With the Australians these rites are inevitably accompanied by painting of the body. Tribes who have no local supply of paint acquire it by barter, and occasionally form expeditions, lasting for several months, for its acquisition.

The symbolism of the different colours employed varies to some extent among different tribes. White is the war colour among those tribes in the North and West, while in the South it is the colour for mourning. It is much in vogue for the painting accompanying Corroborees or dances (11).

In the West and North black is the mourning colour. Schoelcher (12) gives yellow as the colour employed when intentions were

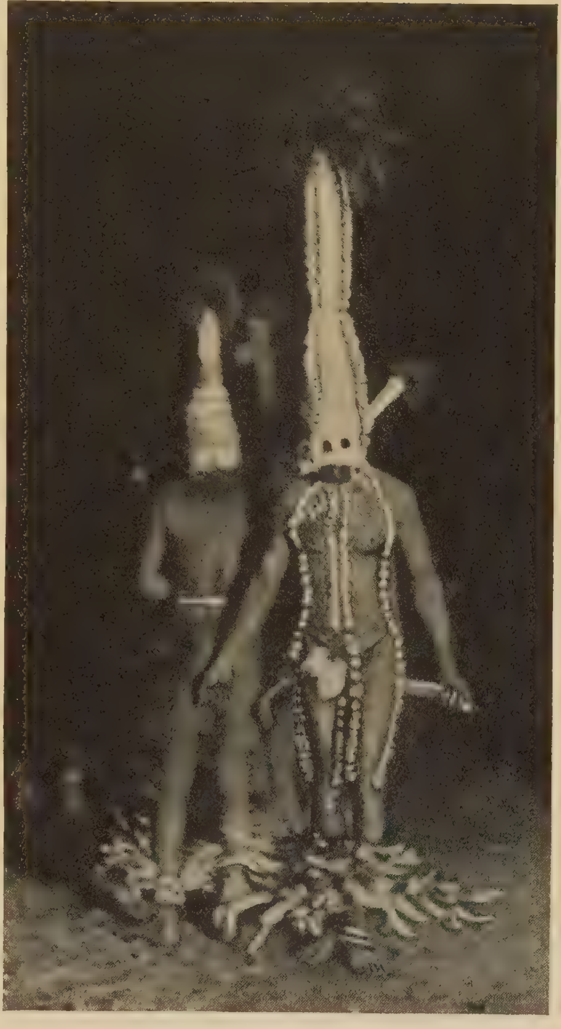

Fig. 33.
Men of the Arunta Tribe of Central Australia Dancing by Fire-Light.
(Photo Lab. d'Anthropologie).

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(11) At which time the design follows roughly the osseous structure of the wearer's anatomy. Observers have suggested that this form of application was followed because of the gruesome appearance lent by the suggestion of the skeleton thus attained, but it seems doubtful whether the same set of associations is called up in the imagination of Australians as of European spectators. As the dances are always held at night by the dim light afforded by a flickering fire or the moon, it seems more probable that the lines of the body are brought out to allow the beholder a better opportunity of following the movements executed in the course of the dance, the aesthetic value of which must be immeasurably heightened by the process.

(12) *Les Primitifs*, p. 71.

pacific, red as the colour used in warfare, and white as the colour of mourning. Unfortunately he does not state whether he considers these as local or general manifestations, but the use of colour must have varied, being different for each locality.

In connection with the initiation ceremonies, when boys are admitted into the responsibilities and privileges of manhood, painting is allowed them for the first time, evidently as a part of the external investiture of their advancement (13). Crawley (14) gives an example of body painting among the Malays, where the bride and groom are smeared with "neutralizing paste" which averts "ill luck". The Australians sometimes paint the head-band (*chilera*) white, with a view of thus attracting, by magical means, the object of their affection, and the claims of Westermarck and others regarding the importance of the sex factor in connection with all primitive activities having to do with bodily decoration cannot be ignored (15).

Painting also plays an important part in the ritual engaged in by primitives as a means of increasing their food supply, of

(13) Messrs. Spencer and Gillen (*Native Tribes of South Eastern Australia,* p. 519 *et seq.*) give the following description in connection with the part played by costume in the initiation ceremonies. "When all had arrived, a fire was made in the great *Bunan*, and the boys, accompanied by their *Kabos* (brothers of the girls who belonged to the tribe from which their future wives must be taken) were painted and a woman's digging stick placed betwen the boys' feet, on which hung a bag containing a man's full ceremonial dress (the cord of twisted opossum-fur which forms his belt, kilt, forehead-band and the painted bone worn through the septum of the nose, etc.)".

(14) *Mystic Rose,* p. 236.

(15) Dr. Karsten, in writing of the girls of the Tobas says : "I was told that the girls paint themselves when they are desirous of a man," (*Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador,* i. 8 *et seq.*) while Martius (*Beitrage zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas zumal Brasiliens,* i. 217) mentions the Guarayos buck who paints himself from head to foot while courting. Gallardo (*Tierra del Fuego - Los Onas,* p. 151) says that the Ona suitor decorates his face with small white spots and Westermarck gives numerous examples of the custom of painting the face and body during courtship (*History of Human Marriage,* i. 512 *et seq.*) while painting accompanies sexual as well as other ceremonies in many parts of the world. Bonwick (*Daily Life of the Tasmanians,* p. 25 *et seq.*) refers to a rebellion which almost broke out on the Flinders reservation because of an order suppressing the use of grease and ochre "the young men fearing the loss of favour in the eyes of their countrywomen."

which the following description, taken from Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes* (pp. 170-179), forms an excellent example ; "After visiting some of the *Ilthura* sacred places and repeating the same ceremony at each, a start is made for the camp. Within a mile or so of the latter, the party halt and decorate themselves with the *Ilkinia, or sacred design of the totem,* head-bands, the *chilera,* hair strings, nose bones, bunches of feathers and twigs of the Udiringa bush." Further on, speaking of the termination of the food rites, they say : "The *Intichiuma* party remains at the wurley till daylight, when the men strip themselves of their ornaments, throwing away their *Udiringa* twigs. The *Alatunja* (medicine man) then proclaims 'Our *Intichiuma* (food ceremony) is finished, the *Mulyamuka* (food deity) must have these things or else our *Intichiuma* would not be successful, and some harm would happen to us.' They all reply : 'Yes, certainly'. The ornaments are then handed to the men of the other moiety. The *Ilkinia* (sacred totem emblem) *and the painting of the face is obliterated by rubbing red ochre over the bodies of the performers.* The men then put on their arm strings, etc., and return to their respective camps". The above, which describes these rites among the Australians, is echoed in similar activities amongst primitives in other parts of the world, which are very often accompanied by body-painting. In this particular case the form of the painting takes additional interest from its clear connection with the Totem (16). Totemism is given as the foundation for many of the designs employed in both body-painting and tattooing, but this cannot always be established, and in fact very little is known as to the origin or nature of these designs. Savages do however frequently identify themselves with their totems by wearing some portion of the anatomy of the totem animal, hide or feathers, by the form of coiffure, or by wearing masks made to resemble the animal, and the influence of Totemism on primitive dress is undoubtedly most important. The part it plays is explained by Maurice Halbwachs (*Les Origines du Sentiment Religieux*) in a book based upon the conclusions of Durkheim (17). He claims that in every case the Totem is the emblem, standard or banner of the clan, and thus surrounded by the primitives with the sentiments which the clan itself evokes. It is simpler to let the imagination work upon a symbolic object than upon a group with the somewhat complex action which it exercises ; the concept of the tremendous power of the symbolism of banners and standards which occupy directly in the psychology of the individual combatant a place in his conscious mind almost to the exclusion of the organization for which they stand being obvious. "The sign substitutes itself for the thing for which it stands". A similar rôle is played by the Totem in primitive religious ceremonies, and, "in every spot which offers itself to his senses, that which strikes his attention is the image of the totem, everywhere repeated" : not only upon inanimate objects employed as emblems, upon his shield, perhaps, in the form of his coiffure, etc., but forming the decorations which cover the different parts of his body, "which are also just so many Totemic marks." It is true that Durkheim admits that these decorations, which, among the Australians, are in the form of simplified geometric designs, have only a remote analogy with the objects which they pretend to represent and "only the members of the clan can explain the meaning attached by them to such and such a combination of lines" (18). Examples of this kind show the danger of attempting to explain either the origin of costume or the practices of primitives by any single theory. For a law cannot be formulated in ethnological research by the simple collection of a series of examples serving as demonstrations of an hypothesis, no matter how numerous these may be.

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(16) The word "Totem" (of American Indian origin) denotes the object, generally of a natural species, animal or vegetable, but occasionally rain, cloud, star, wind, which gives its name to a kindred, actual or supposed, among many savages and barbaric races.

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(17) Durkheim wrote the following important contributions to this subject : *La prohibition de l'inceste*, Année sociologique (Paris 1896) ; *De la définition des phénomènes religieux*, ibid. (Paris 1897) ; *Sur le Totémisme*, ibid. (Paris 1900) ; *Sur l'organisation matrimoniale des sociétés australiennes*, ibid. (Paris 1903) ; *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse. Le système totémique en Australie* (Paris 1912) ; *Le problème religieux et la dualité de la nature humaine* (Paris 1913).

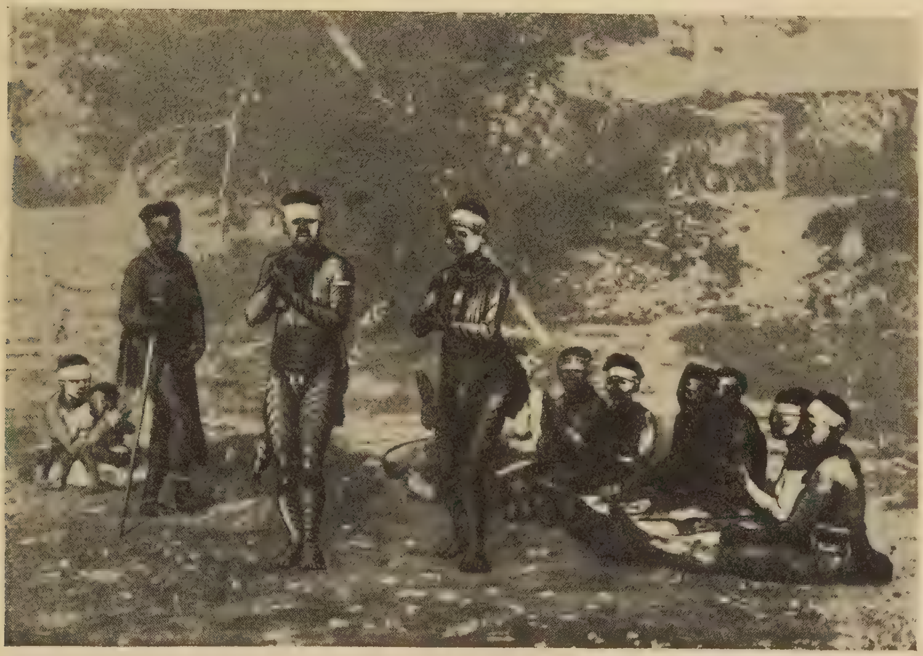

Fig. 34.

Andaman Islanders Dancing with Bodies Painted.
(Photo Laboratoire d'Anthropologie).

If a rule should be here formulated regarding the Totemic origin and connection of body painting, it would also be necessary to explain away the often embarrassing number of exceptions. If Dr. Westermarck favors sex as the most important factor, while Dr. Durkheim prefers the symbolism of Totemism, Elliot Smith, the amuletic theory of a power inherent in the substances themselves, and someone else a somewhat abstract aesthetic explanation, there at least always remains the consolation that the different forces are by no means so separated from one another as the first casual glance would seem to imply; that the more they are studied, the more their mutual *rapprochement* becomes evident and the more nearly it becomes possible to say that they all may play a part to the exclusion of none.

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(18) Generally men are represented by half circles, animals by complete circles or spirals. The outlines of a man or animal may be represented by lines, points, etc.

BODY PAINTING AND WARFARE. — Body painting has various uses in connection with warfare and its accompanying ceremonials. In dividing ornament into two main classes designated respectively as *Reizschmuck* (that which serves to excite) and *Schreckschmuck* (that which scares), Grosse perhaps exaggerated the importance of war painting as a terrifying agent, although there is no doubt that display plays a major rôle in primitive military methods (19). Several other factors, however, enter into the possibilities concerning the why and wherefore of this form of ornament in connection with battle.

It may be used as a uniform to distinguish the faction and rank of the wearer, as was the case among the Fijians, who changed the form of the designs every two or three days, in order to avoid ruses on the part of the enemy. It may have a magico-religious significance, putting the wearer under the protection of a totem, or otherwise consecrating his person to the activities which he is about to begin, and the fact that he may take the life of an enemy makes the reason for such a consecration clear, when we investigate the beliefs of certain primitives on this subject. Or it may serve as a sort of body armour, the virtue of which would rest upon the magical qualities inherent in the paint itself.

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(19) The effect of the appearance and conduct of the painted American Indians when they were "on the warpath" was known and taken into consideration by every experienced Indian fighter. Hardened veterans who strengthened the morale of inexperienced men with warnings, counsel and example, were carefully distributed in important positions to overcome it.

"Other things besides weapons also belong to the warlike equipment of the negro." says Ratzel (*History of Mankind* v. ii. p. 346.) "He seeks to make an impression by terrifying. For war, as for feasting, he adorns himself with paint, on which his polished ornaments, etc. stand out glittering. Yet more terrible is the impression when the war-shriek is accompanied with savage music. The history of the Kaffir wars teaches that even European troops were not always sufficiently steeled against such a display of warlike savagery."

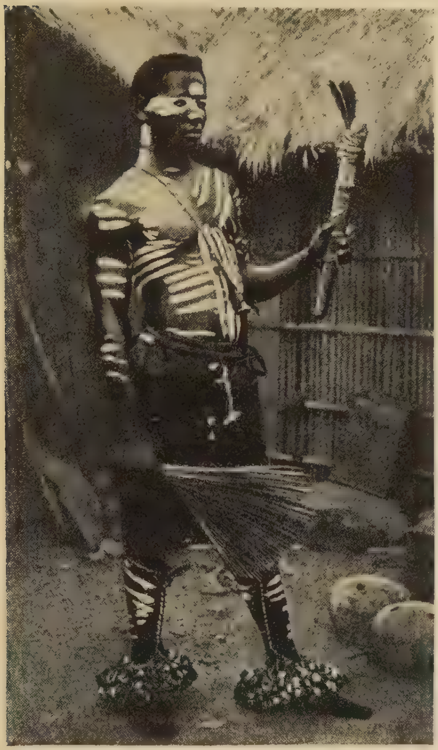

Fig. 35.
Gold Coast Fetishman in
Ceremonial Painting.
(From *Peoples of the World*).

Certain American tribes believe that the enemy is unclean and that they must protect themselves from a possible consequence of the contact necessitated in order to bring about his decease, by magical means ; while the Australian warrior who has slain a man paints himself black with charcoal and keeps silent for several days, after which he decorates his face and body with bright colours, and becomes free to talk about the affair (20).

"Among the Tshi-speaking people of the Gold Coast, the wives of the fighting men paint themselves white and adorn their persons with bead charms. On the day when the battle is expected to take place they run about armed with guns or sticks resembling guns and hack paw-paws (melon-like fruits) with their knives in imitation of the process of removing from its shoulders the head of the enemy (21)".

Dr. Frazer, quoting from Fitzgerald Marriott, describes a dance that took place in Framin during the Ashantee war. "The women whose husbands had gone to the war were painted white and wore nothing but a short petticoat. At their head was a shrivelled old sorceress in a very short white petticoat, her black hair hanging in front in a sort of long projecting horn, and her black face, breast, arms and legs profusely adorned with white circles and crescents. All carried long white brushes made of buffalo or horse tails, and as they danced they sang : "Our husbands have gone to Ashanteeland. May they sweep their enemies off the face of the earth". (*Golden Bough* III, Pt. I p. 132).

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(20) Spencer & Gillen, *Native Tribes* p. 493.

(21) A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 226.

These examples, which are chosen almost at random from the numerous ones included in the mass of material on the subject, tend to prove that the inspiring of terror is not the only end sought by the practice of painting as related to primitive warfare. There is another possibility which has been apparently much neglected by investigators, not only in relation to this particular case, but as regards primitive ceremonial ornamentation in general; its workings, however, are particularly well shown as they apply to the psychology of the individual primitive warrior. For the ornamentation, as exemplified in body-painting and kindred forms, together with the dances, howlings, cryings, and shield beatings in which he indulges in the face of the enemy (a terrible waste of precious physical energy) while they can hardly fail to have somewhat the desired mental effect upon the latter, must have almost as great an effect upon the warrior himself. This effect is in the change in his state of mind brought about by all these self-exciting Lotzean (22) activities, and the workings of the costume upon his ego. In this connection it is interesting to cast another glance at Kohler's (23) deductions regarding the effect of costume upon the chimpanzees with which he experimented.

(22) H. Lotze, *Mikrokosmos,* treats of similar theories in connection with a top-hat. Bk. v, Chap. II, pp. 592-595, 4th Am. ed. 1897.

(23) *Op. cit.*

In one place he mentions the case of "a decorated chimpanzee (24) with all signs of being in the best of tempers, and strutting about amongst his companions or advancing upon them *menacingly*". Again he calls attention to the fact that "when anything moves with our bodies we feel richer and more stately".

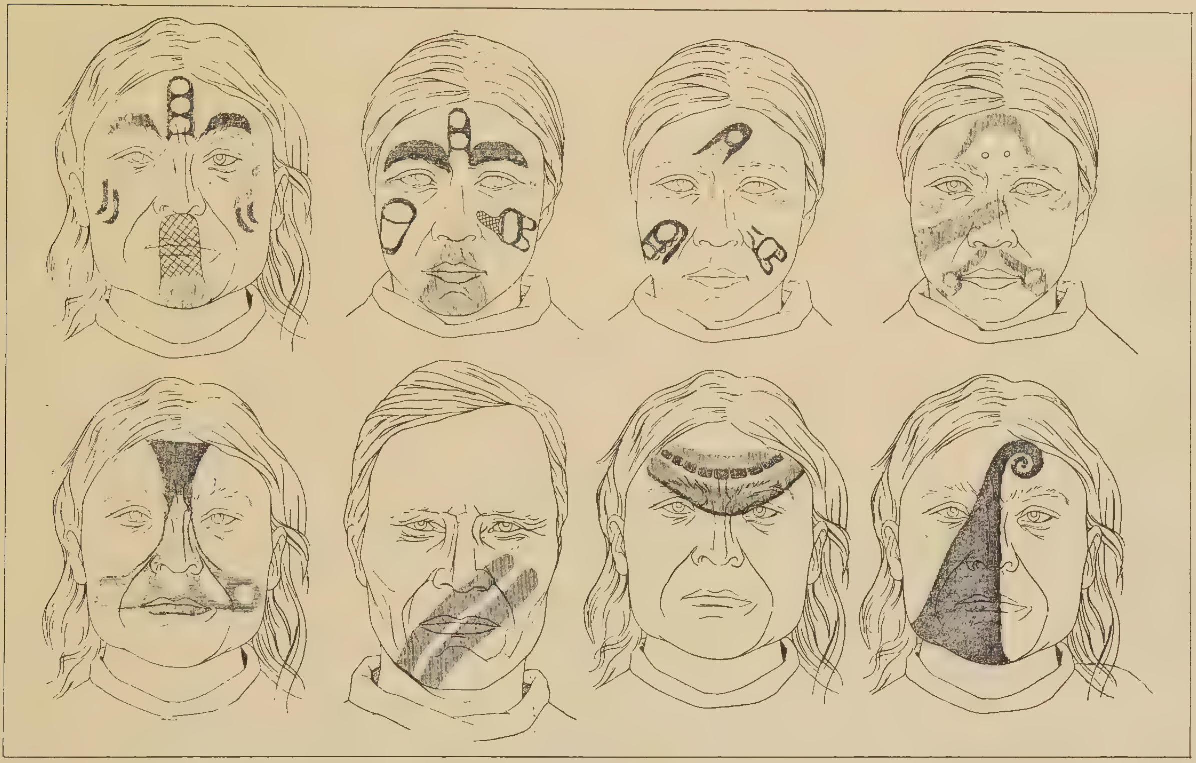

Fig. 36.

Facial Painting of Indians of the Northwest Coast of North America.

(After Goddard).

The conduct of the most serious people, when "dressed up" for a "fancy dress ball" or other occasion where there is an opportunity for wearing a bizarre, elaborate or grotesque costume is well known, and they will all admit that their state of mind is considerably affected by a consciousness of their appearance. This effect is heightened in the minds of imaginative children to a point where it may influence their action over a considerable length of time, during which the costume governs their thoughts to the extent of a partial or complete exclusion of every other environmental factor. That these facts may have a close connection with certain primitive usages aforementioned, there is very little doubt. The conduct of savages upon the adaptation of coveted European garments, when these are sufficiently elaborate, is not dissimilar to that of children under similar circumstances, whose amusing behaviour is familiar to us all.

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(24) See note, Chap. I, p. 7.

Unfortunately for the primitives, however, the clothing which they receive from their first contacts with civilization is usually no more elaborate in nature than a cheap pair of cotton drawers or a pinafore (Polynesian *Pina Foa*) depending on the sex of the recipient. The aesthetic appeal of such finery to people who spend patient hours upon the most tedious methods of dress decoration must admittedly be limited. Reasons are not lacking which may point to the fact that in such a situation the ego of the wearer may be unfavorably affected to a point where a so called "inferiority complex" develops with dire results to the "savage's" state of mind, and thus indirectly to his actual bodily well-being. The factors which cause primitive races to die off in contact with civilisation may be neither so concrete nor so obvious as they at first appear. Robert Louis Stevenson remarks this situation in an interesting chapter of *In the South Seas,* saying :

"Upon the whole, the problem seems to me to stand thus ; — Where there have been fewest changes, important or unimportant, salutary or hurtful, there the race survives. Where there have been most, important or unimportant, salutary or hurtful, there it perishes. Each change, however small, augments the sum of new conditions to which the race has to become inured.

There may seem, *a priori,* no comparison between the change from 'sour toddy' to bad gin, and that from the island kilt to a pair of European trousers. Yet I am far from persuaded that one is any more hurtful than the other; ...Experience begins to show us (at least in the Polynesian Islands) that change of habit is bloodier than a bombardment."

Louis Le Fèvre, in an article in *The American Mercury* (vol. IX, no. 33, Sept. 1926 p. 47 *et seq.*) discusses the effect of the "inferiority complex" upon the primitive's capacity for resistance to disease. If his conclusions have any basis of fact, there can be no more fitting symbolical demonstration of the manner in which the new forces act, than that furnished by clothing.

The savage who attempts to change his personality and allegiance, through the external processes of dress, sacrifices all the significant and often complicated heraldry which bound him pridefully to the old group, yet finds too late that their efficacy as a passport to the new and assumedly superior one existed only in his imagination. "He-who-sits-by-the-red-stream", member of the "Turtle" clan, of the "Flying-gull" tribe, becomes simply the house-boy of Mrs. Smith, the missionary's wife. He has hauled down his colours and attempted unsuccessfully to desert to the enemy. If his white corpuscles are in any manner affected by comparative mental depression, he is a more ready subject for the ravages of one of the white man's polysyllabled maladies than his proud and less accessible brother who keeps his ensign flying and his group pride and subconscious mentality unaffected.

BODY PAINTING AND BURIAL. — Many of the "natural" peoples who use body-painting in connection with ceremonies having to do with war, food-getting, courtship, initiation, marriage, evil-spirits and sickness, also employ it in their funerary rites, in which case none of the explanations given seems to suffice.

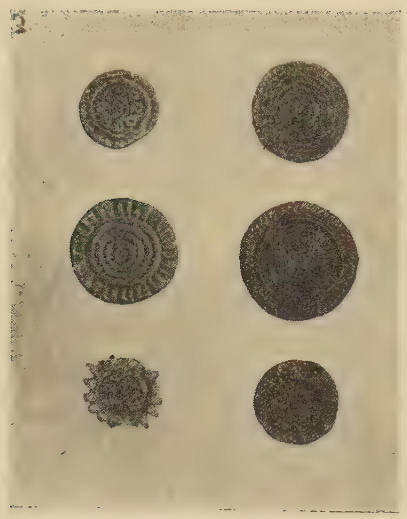

Fig. 37.

"Pintaderas" from the Canary Islands and Mexico.

(Phot. Lab. d'Anthropologie).

Frazer (25) says that it is used with an idea of disguising themselves from the ghost of the dead men and this view is echoed by Joest (26) and borne out by Wilhelmi's explanations (27) wherein, in reply to his question regarding funerary body-painting, a native said : "You see very good make-im like that ; suppose me no make-im, me tumble down too ; that one (the corpse) growl along-a-me."

In Australia the mourners would wail for hours and smear their bodies with pipe clay. In this connection it is interesting to note that the widow, like the victorious warrior, is forbidden to speak for some time after the funeral, and, like him, smears her body with a dull pigment, which she is allowed to remove at the end of a given period and replace by a different method of painting, as for example a narrow white band on the forehead. This shows that she wishes to marry again. This sort of body-painting at funerals, indulged in by the mourners, has almost certainly, when not a disguise, other than ornamental significance and most probably is used partially as a symbol of grief, like the Jewish custom of throwing ashes on the head, or as a protection against the noxious emanations supposed to come from the corpse.

Body-painting and tattooing. — The possibility of change inherent to body-painting singularly fits it for ceremonial usages such as the ones discussed, but its very lack of permanence not only limits decorative possibilities through the discouragement suggested to the artist who has this fact in mind, but proves a disadvantage where the end in view is a purely aesthetic one. These limitations doubtless led to the invention of processes not only such as that involved in the use of the *pintadera* mentioned in Chapter II, but also to scarification and tattooing where permanent results were desired. Among the Bornean Dyaks the *pintadera* is used in connection with tattooing for printing the designs which are to be followed by the tattooer's instrument, and this use may demonstrate a possible form of transition from one sort of decoration to another.

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(25) *Certain Burial Customs as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul,* in Jour. Anthr. Inst. xv, 73 Idem. *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament,* Anthr. Essays, p. 110.

(26) *Tatowiren, Narbenzeichnen und Korperbemalen,* Berlin 1887.

(27) Wilhelmi, *Manners and Customs of the Australian Natives, in particular of the Port Lincoln District ;* in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Victoria,* vol. v. Melbourne 1860.

TATTOOING. — The term "tattooing", used in its widest sense, may be taken to mean any permanent disfigurement of the skin for purposes of personal embellishment, although the process may not always have a definitely decorative end in view. Following the methods employed, tattooing may be divided into two main classes, to wit : tattooing proper, as practised by the Polynesians and other light-skinned races (28), and scar-tattooing, or scarification, usually employed by the peoples with darker skins. The reasons are obvious, as it would be extremely difficult to make a dark pigment show at all upon a dark skin, and successful light pigments are

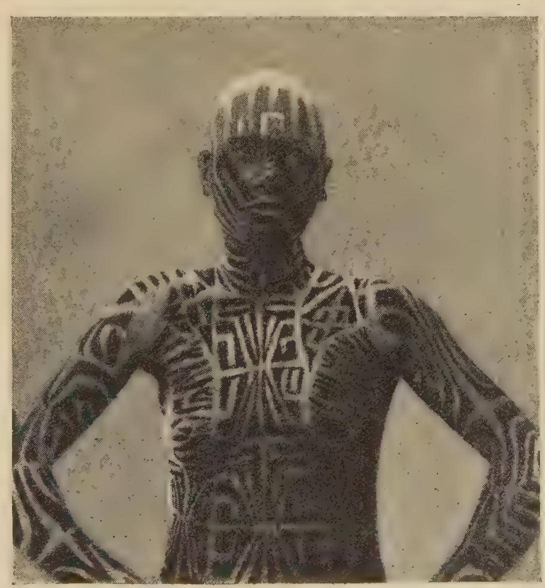

FIG. 38.

A TATTOOED AROMA WOMAN FROM SOUTHEAST NEW GUINEA.

(Photo Laboratoire d'Anthropologie).

(28) The word tattooing is of Polynesian derivation.

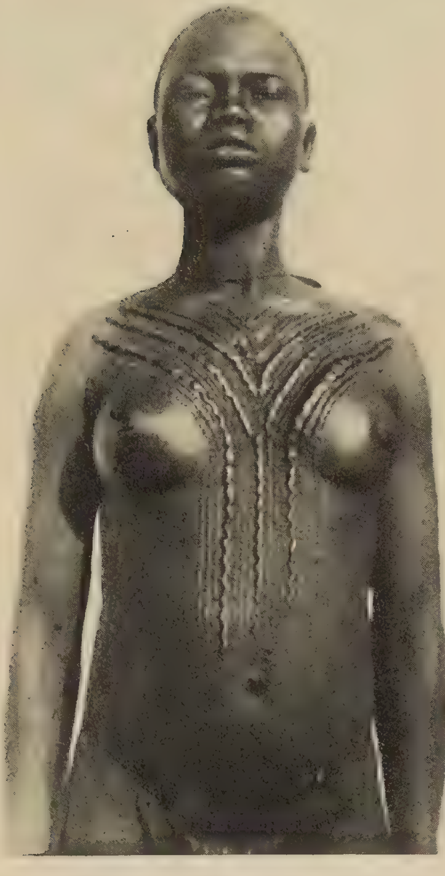

Fig. 39.
Scar Tattooing on the chest and breast of a young M'Boyes girl from the Middle Chary, Lake Tchad, Congo.

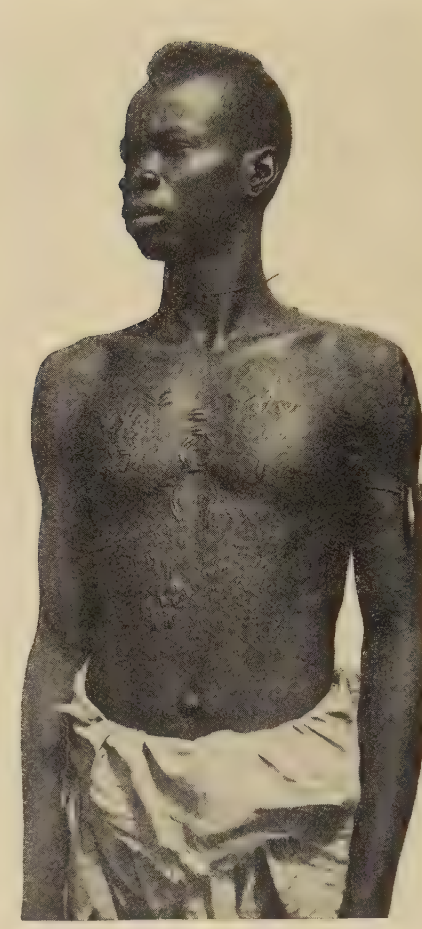

Fig. 40.
Man of the Yakoma Tribe, Nigeria, with Scar Tattooing — Note forehead.

extremely rare, if not entirely lacking, for the colour used in tattooing must of itself be in the nature of a stain, and every artist knows that it is difficult, if not impossible, to stain a dark ground light. If we accept tattooing as a term covering both these methods, its practice may be considered as almost universal (29).

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(29) The ancients used three processes for applying permanent marks, all of which are roughly paralleled in primitive usages (*karassein, karagma*) ; cauterization (*egcaien, causteriazein,* in Latin : *nota, stigmata and stigma,* the branding iron was called *cauter, karacter*) ; by scarification among Beni-Israel (VII century) in Syria, Phœnicia, Moak (VIII cent.); by tattooing, *stizein,* from which, *stigmata, stigon, stigmatias, stigeus, stictes,* etc. (Lacassagne, *La Signification des Tatouages,* Lyon, 1912, p. 21).

One of the simplest forms to be observed is the scarification as practised among the Australians, where a series of cuts, executed according to a pre-arranged manner, are filled with clay, while they are healing, so that they form a number of well-defined ridges. Between this stage and the highly perfected processes of the Maoris and Japanese, there exist a thousand and one forms with varying significances and possible reasons of origin. Among the latter the following may be mentioned: religious, initiatory, medicinal, tribal marks, caste marks, military and ornamental.

The origin of tattooing as given by the Tahitian legend, is religious in character. "Taaroa, their god, and Apouvaru had a daughter who was called Hinaereeremonoi. As she grew up, in order to preserve her chastity, she was made *Pahio,* or kept in a kind of enclosure, and constantly attended by her mother. Intent upon her seduction, the brothers invented tattooing, and marked each other with the figure called Taomaro. Thus ornamented, they appeared before their sister who admired the figures, and, in order to be tattooed herself, eluding the care of her mother, she broke the enclosure that had been erected for her preservation, was tattooed, and became also the victim of the designs of her brothers.

"Tattooing thus originated among the gods, and was first

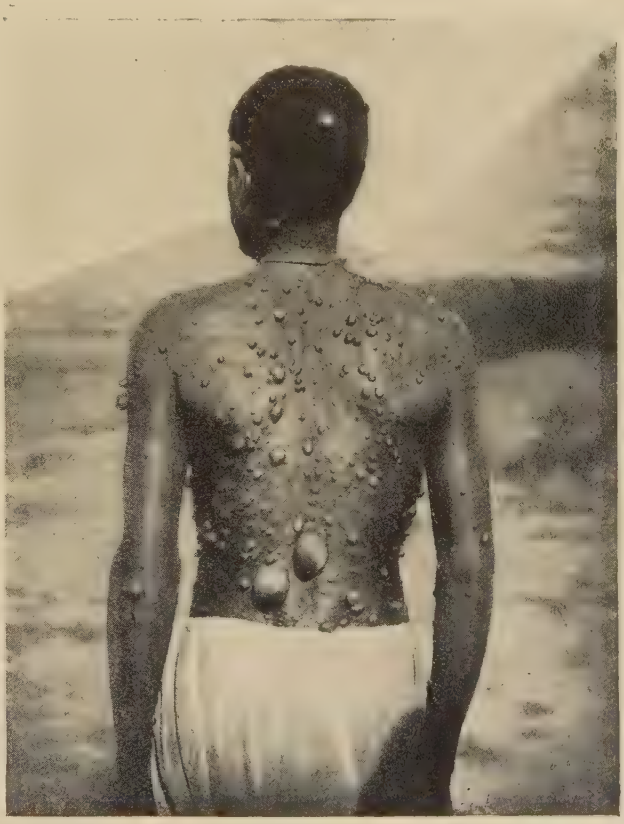

FIG. 41.
AFRICAN "TUMOUR" TATTOOING.

practised among the children of Taaroa, their principal deity. In imitation of their example, and for the accomplishment of the same purpose, it was practised among men. The two sons of Taaroa and Apouvaru were the gods of tattooing. Their images were kept in the temples of those who practised the art professionally, and every application of their skill was preceded by a prayer to them, that the operation might not occasion death, that the wounds might soon heal, that the figures might be handsome, attract admirers, and answer the ends of wickedness designed" (30).

This explanation seems based upon the theory of sex attraction (31), but it also serves to bring out the point of the pain which must be undergone by the individual who wishes to be decorated by such methods. This factor of pain seems to have been sufficiently important in the development of tattooing. Macmillan Brown (32) calls attention to the fact that "the transition from temporary painting to the permanency of tattooing must have been greatly aided by the necessity of the courage in the endurance of the pain that is entailed; thus would tattooing automatically be excellently fitted to play the rôle demanded by vanity of the sort which requires a proof of the wearer's courage, fitness and endurance." As might be inferred, it plays an important part in initiation ceremonies of divers sorts.

According to Annamese tradition, tattooing originated through the direction of an ancient king who advised its use by his subjects, "in order to elude the sea monsters when fishing." Among the Khais of Arakan (Eastern Himalayas) the reason for tattooing is given, in that it was intended to scare away the Mongols, when they demanded maidens of the tribe as tribute. Certain North American Indians tattoo marks upon their arms

(30) W. Ellis, *Polynesian researches*, i. 262 sq.

(31) Tattooing of the pubic region is by no means rare.

(32) *Maori and Polynesian*, p. 184.

which are used as yard-sticks for measuring, while Keyser (33) speaks of a war chief, who having slain sixty-three enemies, wore a tally of sixty-three blue lines, inscribed on his chest.

John Sylvester's life-like portrait of the Maori chief, Tupai Kupa (34), was unsatisfactory to the latter who, taking the pencil from the hands of the artist, skilfully reproduced the conventionally elaborate pattern formed by the lines tattooed on his

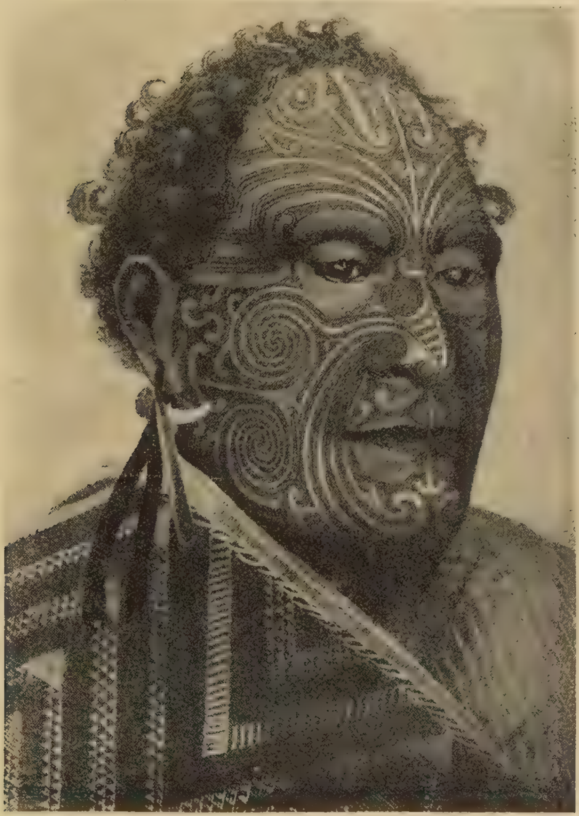

FIG. 42.

ONE OF THE LAST MAORIES SHOWING THE ANCIENT TATTOOING. The subject was 94 years of age at the time this photo was taken (note Fabric design and Ear ornament). — Photo Otto Haeckel.

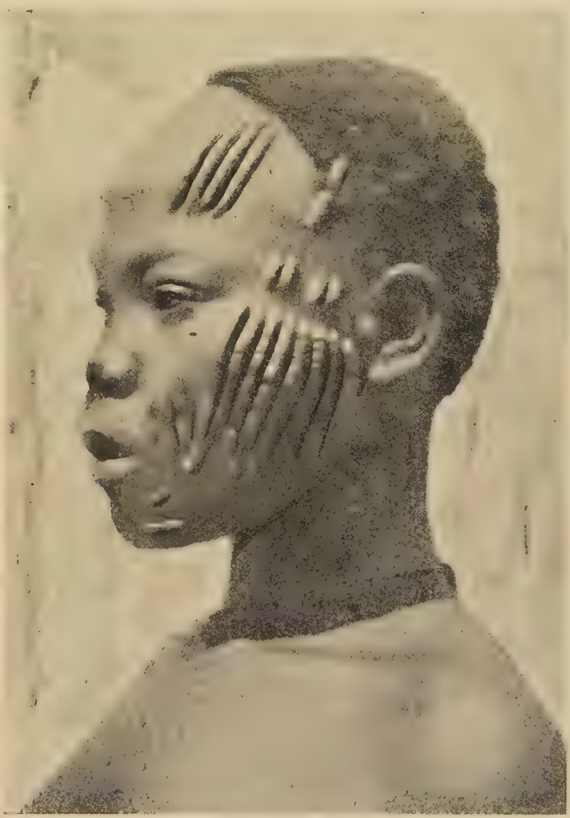

FIG. 43.

YOUNG AFRICAN GIRL WITH TRIBAL SCAR TATTOOING. In this method the scars are filled with earth or similar material to give them the desired prominence.

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(33) *Our Cruise to New Guinea*, p. 44.

(34) Leo Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man* p. 34, *et seq.*

face. Tupai Kupa explained the significance of each figure, and sketched the forms employed by several other noble families, but unfortunately the procedure has been reported without other details. Westermarck mentions a man whom he knew in Morocco, who "had a tattoo mark under either temple which was intended to prevent him from sleeping too much"; while Ratzel (35) makes the following statement concerning the American Indian: "What has been taken for 'scar tattooing' is for the most part only the traces of blood-letting, which is practised with extraordinary frequency. The Indians slash the whole body in the most ruthless way, not only as a cure for rheumatism and congestions, but also to improve their strength and endurance, and thus the mass of scars received in sportive fights and self-torturings among warlike tribes resulted in a sort of irregular cicatrization." These habits not only may serve to show a possible origin of the medicinal virtues of tattooing, but have a connection with the scars of American football players (trophyism), and those of Heidelberg duellists, which have come to be considered almost as part of their "make up".

Among the Bakuba and the Baluba of the Congo basin the designs are of such regularity and so skilfully executed that they might easily have an aesthetic appeal to Europeans. Yate (36) says that "nothing can exceed the beautiful regularity with which the faces and thighs of the New Zealanders are tattooed".

The permanence of tattooing also fits it for the use to which it is put in dedicating the person of an individual to a deity (37), of which examples are by no means rare, a slave to his

(35) *Op. cit.* v. ii, p. 31.

(36) *Account of New Zealand,* p. 147.

(37) P. Perdrizet, quoted by Lacassagne observes in this connection that "tattooing amongst primitives is a consecration, the faithful receiving upon his skin the indelible mark of the god to whom he is considered to belong, as a piece of live-stock receives upon its skin the brand of the owner, or as a slave is marked by his master."

master, or one person to another, as exemplified by the sailor who has two names and a love-knot artistically executed on his fore-arm (38).

"Having no clothes to embroider, they embroider their skins", says Théophile Gautier, and his observation is carried out with remarkable literalness by certain Eskimo and the Siberian Tungooses, Yakouts, and Ostiaks, among whom tattooing is performed in a peculiar manner by sewing. Among the Thracians tattooing was used as a sign of repentance and mourning and also as a mark of caste (38a). In speaking of them, Herodotus (39) said,

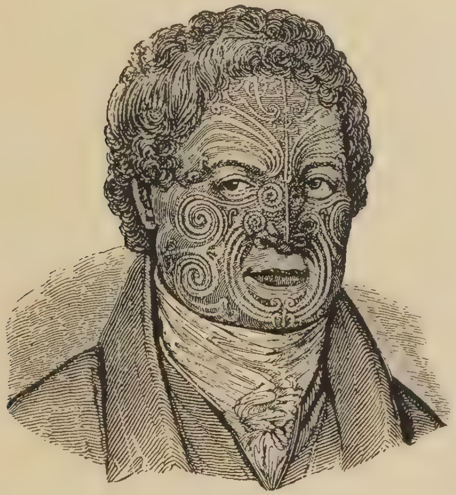

Fig. 44.

A Maori, Tupai Kupa. After an old wood-cut.

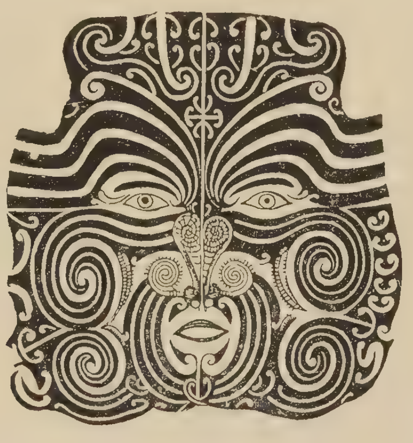

Fig. 45.

A Maori, Tupai Kupa. After his own drawing.

From Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man.*

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(38) In Easter Island a young married man tattooed the vulva of his wife on his chest as a sign that he was married. (Geisler, *Die Oster-Insel,* p. 29).

(38a) Marco Polo, *Travels,* Lib. II. chap. XII. mentions tattooing in this connection. Speaking of the "Province of Kardandan", he says, "...The men also form dark stripes or bands round their arms and legs, by puncturing them in the following manner. They have five needles joined together, which they press into the flesh until blood is drawn ; and they rub the punctures with a black colouring matter which leaves an indelible mark. To bear these dark stripes is considered as an ornamental and honourable distinction". Polo's manner of description would lead one to believe that tattooing among Europeans was unknown to him at the time of writing.

(39) V. 6. 2.

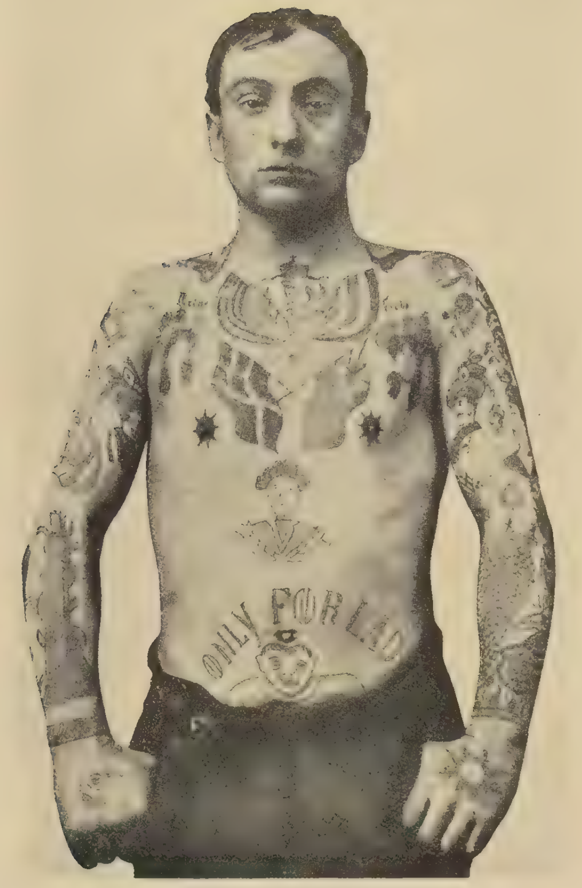

Fig. 46.
Tattooed Convict
(After Prinzhorn *Bildnerei der Gefangenen*).

"To be tattooed is a sign of nobility; not to be, a sign to the contrary."

In Japan tattooing was carried to such a state of perfection that it was substituted for clothing (40). A remarkable technique was developed, allowing the operator to cover a surface as large as the entire back of a patient in a few hours. There is little doubt that Japanese tattooing is purely ornamental in character.

Lacassagne, who ignores the sexual and decorative possibilities of tattooing, divides it into six classes, as follows :

1. Hieratic,
2. Religious,
3. Totemic,
4. Of the Family,
5. Of the Caste,
6. Professional.

This classification also neglects medicinal tattooing, tally and other trophistic forms, marks used upon slaves and prisoners of war, and in part the use to which it was put, as among the Maoris, to make the appearance of the wearer terrifying in warfare.

The survival of tattooing among the criminal classes of European capitals, who must have every reason for the avoidance of a practice which cannot fail to facilitate identification, is an extraordinary example of the power exercised by such customs upon a primitive type of mentality. (See Prinzhorn, Hans, *Bildnerei der Gefangenen Studie zur Bildnerischen Gestaltung Ungeübter.* Berlin 1926).

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(40) Among labourers and "Rickisha" men who were habitually in state of semi-nudity, by whom it was called the *niki no jiban* "shirt of skin".

Mutilation. — Tattooing and scarification are in themselves certainly mutilations of the skin, but their character is sufficiently ornamental in nature to place them, in the great majority of cases at least, under the heading of means of ornamentation. Depilation is another form of skin mutilation, which is almost as common. The scalp, the face, the eyebrows and the pubic regions are the parts most commonly subjected to this practice, but occasionally all parts of the body receive attention. Pincers, shaving by means of shell edges, and other primitive instruments, are the means employed. Sometimes a sexual connection can be clearly demonstrated, as seems to be the case mentioned by Riedel (41), who states that *adolescentes et puellas dicit saepe consulto abradere pilos pubis nulla aliamente, nisi ut illae partes alteri sexui magis conspicuae fiant,* and this also explains the savage dictum, "The hairy man must

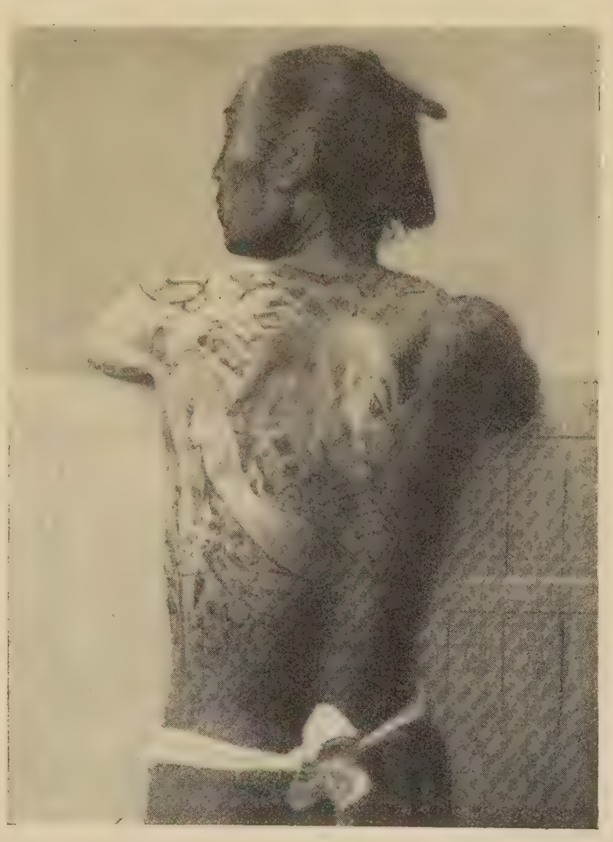

Fig. 47.
Japanese "Rickshaw" Man with Tattooed Back.
(Photo Laboratoire d'Anthropologie).

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(41) (*Galela und Tobeloresen,* p. 293).

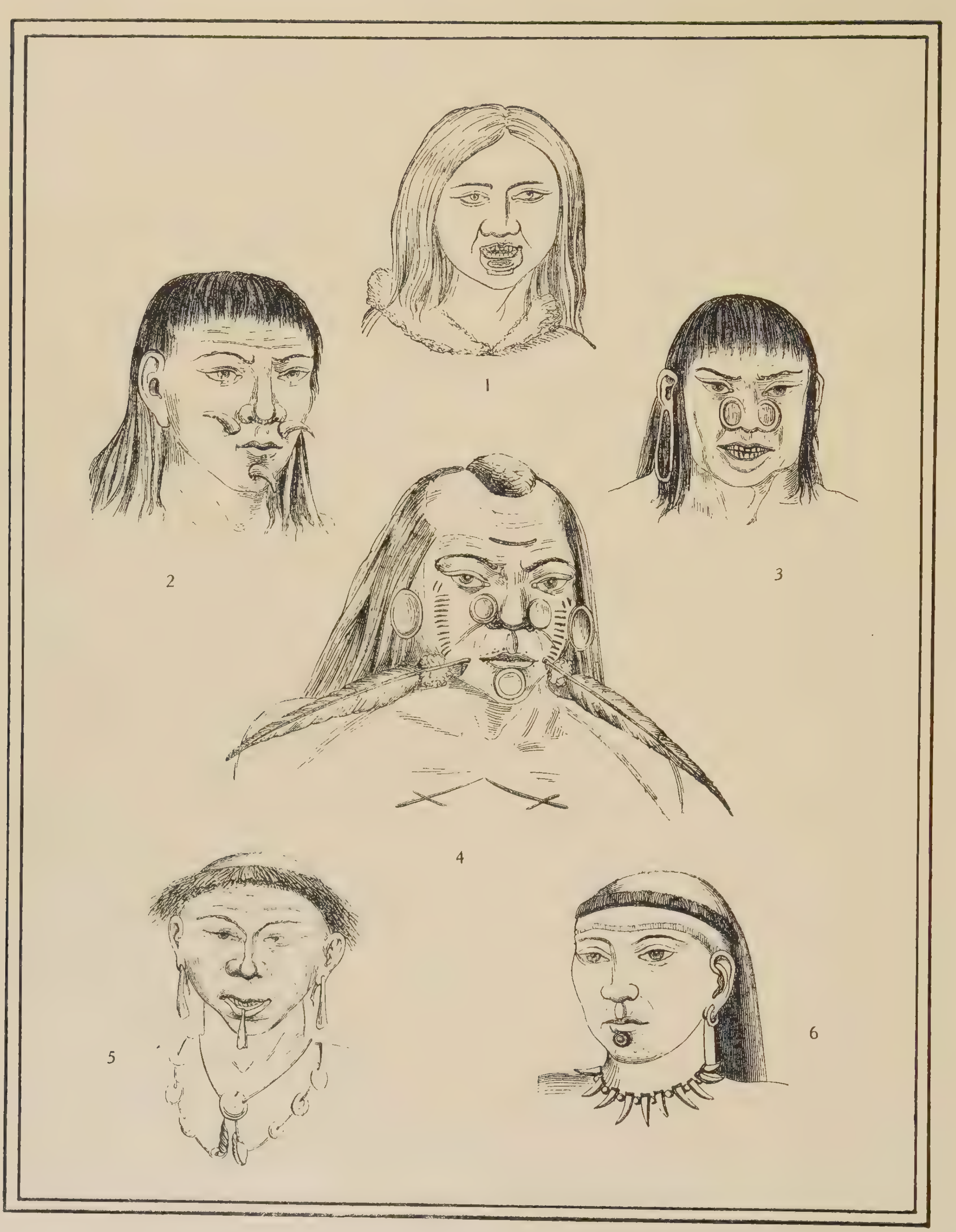

Fig. 48.

1. Woman from Mulgrave Bay, Alaska.
(From a drawing made in 1837).
South American Indians
2. Mura ; 3. Miranha ; 4. Maxuruna ; 5. Broro ; 6. Yapura.
(See Ayres de Cazal, *Corografia Brazilica*).

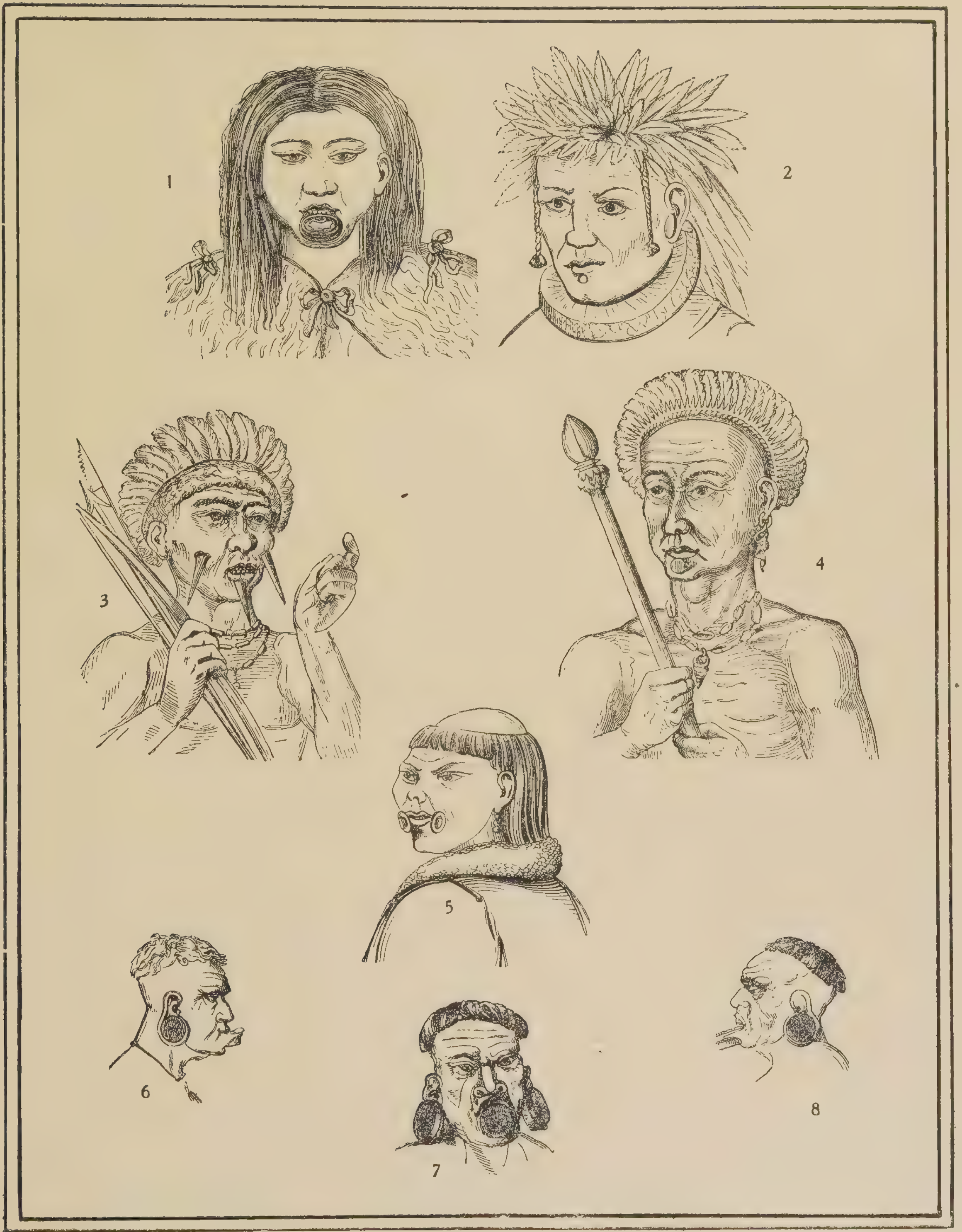

Fig. 49.

1. Indian woman wearing elliptical wooden labret. (After Dixon).
2. Indian of Brazil. — 3. Engraving of Mexican, (After Gemellicarreri).
4. Netzatlhuatlcoyotl, King of Anahuac, Mexico.
5. Tchouktchis. (After de Kotzbue).
6. 7. 8. Botocudo Indians of Brazil. (From the *Magasin Pittoresque*).

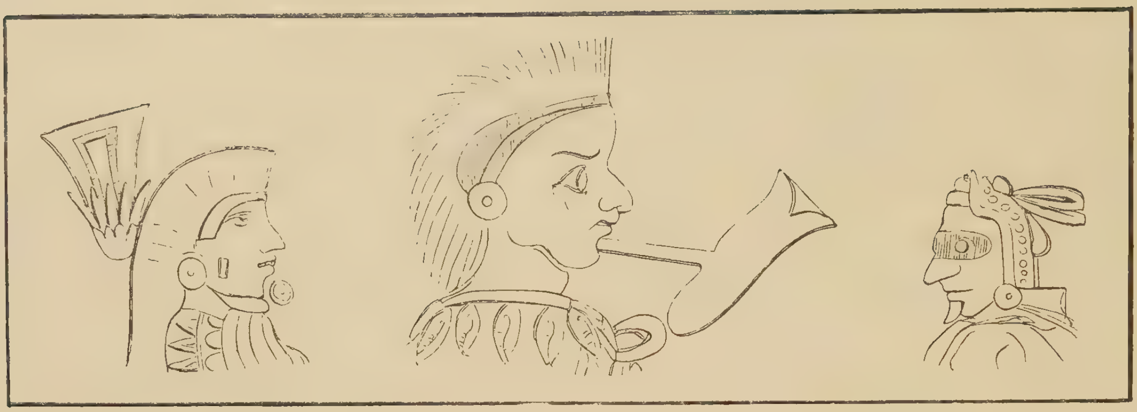

Fig. 50.

Tracings of Hieroglyphics from Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico".

wifeless go". African natives objected to the appearance of Europeans with their unplucked eyebrows, whom they looked down upon, claiming that they resembled ostriches, while the numerous advertisements for depilatories, and the popularity of the "clean shaven face" demonstrate the current aesthetic attitude in civilized society.

Many of the mutilations practised upon the lips, ears, nose, and cheeks evidently have an aesthetic basis, and the wearing of earrings is perhaps the only civilized survival of these customs.

The lips are commonly subjected to practices tending to change their form or allow the insertion of objects of an ornamental nature. The Botocudos, of Brazil, who employ the labret in an exaggerated form, received their name from this custom, for Botocudo is derived from the Portuguese word, "batoque", or "botoque", meaning bung-hole, and the relation seems obvious. It is claimed that the labret may have had its origin in the desire to scare enemies, and the European attitude towards this form of ornament adds to the plausibility of this conclusion. The appearance of twelve savages wearing labrets is mentioned by contemporary writers as having caused a sensation at the court of Henri II. This, however, could hardly

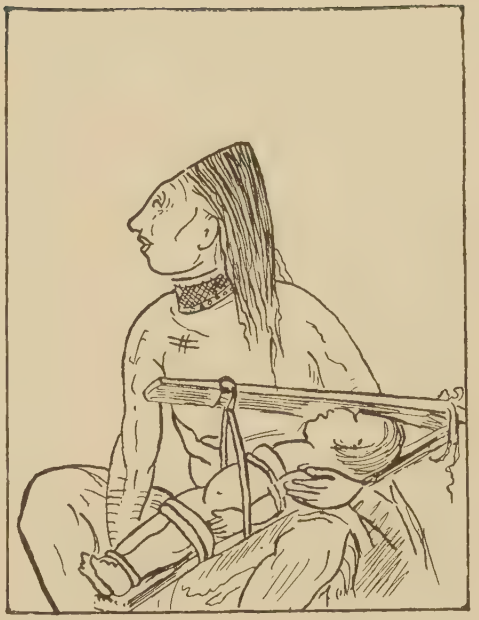

Fig. 52.
Indian Woman with Deformed Head.

explain the existence of the custom amongst tribes where it is confined to the female portion of the population, as is the case with the African, Maganja, Mittu, Saras-Djingas, the South American Aymores, and others (42). The Saras-Djingas, who inhabit the country between the Chari River and the Arab state of Salamat (43), employ the labret in an extremely exaggerated form, some of the women wearing specimens with a diameter of 24 centimeters, or nine and a half inches! Its use among them has been rather romantically explained as resulting from a desire to make themselves hideous in order not to be sold into slavery by their Arab neighbours, who, it was believed, would hesitate to carry off such a profitless form of merchandise. Dr. Muraz, the French resident physician, who has lived among them for a long period, has another and somewhat more plausible explanation.

"The numerous Saras-kabas chieftains (as the Saras-djingas are erroneously called), whom I interrogated on the subject", he says, "told me, that the plug of wood in the lips, which became little by little a disk, and then a real plaque, was in some manner a sign of possession of the husband of the Djinja

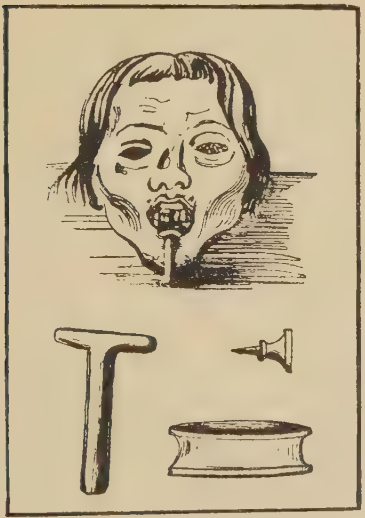

Fig. 51.
Head of Botocudo (From the *Magasin Pittoresque*).

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(42) Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, New York, 1816, believes the wearing of labrets has a religious origin.

(43) To the South of Lake Tchad.

woman. It is the man who is to marry her, and very often he alone who operates, transfixing the lips of the young girl, with whom a blade of straw forms the first sign of the deformation to which she will be subject as an adult. It is in sum a betrothal rite (44)." Sometimes the plaques bear decorative motives. Senegalese women prick the upper lip until it is permanently inflamed and swollen, while the insertion of batons of rock crystal which jingle musically as the wearer moves is characteristic of other tribes. Lip mutilations are also found among the Aleutians, as well as among the people who live along the Mackenzie river in Alaska.

So widespread is the mutilation of the ears that it is easier to enumerate the peoples who abstain from the practice than those who indulge in it. The list of those among whom such mutilation or ornament is absent is suggestively short. It is confined to the Andaman Islanders, the Neddahs, the Bushmen, the Fuegians, and certain Sumatran tribes. In its most exaggerated form the mutilation of the ear-lobe with the insertion of objects may cause them to hang down until they touch the shoulder, and it is so practised by the Mois of Annam, the Cambodian Penangs, and the Dyaks of Borneo. Livingstone said of the natives of the Zambesi that they extend the lobe of the ear to such an extent that the hand can be passed through the perforation. Barbaric earrings often weigh over half a pound. Sometimes the hole in the ear-lobe is used in carrying sundry articles of portable property. An early traveller describes one of the Mangai Islanders as "being clothed with a hunting-knife which was thrust through the lobe of his right ear". The Kaffirs replace the knife with a snuff-box, while the New Caledonians use their perforated ears as pipe racks. Cigarettes and rolls of leaves are carried in this manner by the Monbottus.

(44) *Sous le grand Soleil,* Gaston Muraz, Paris, 1923.

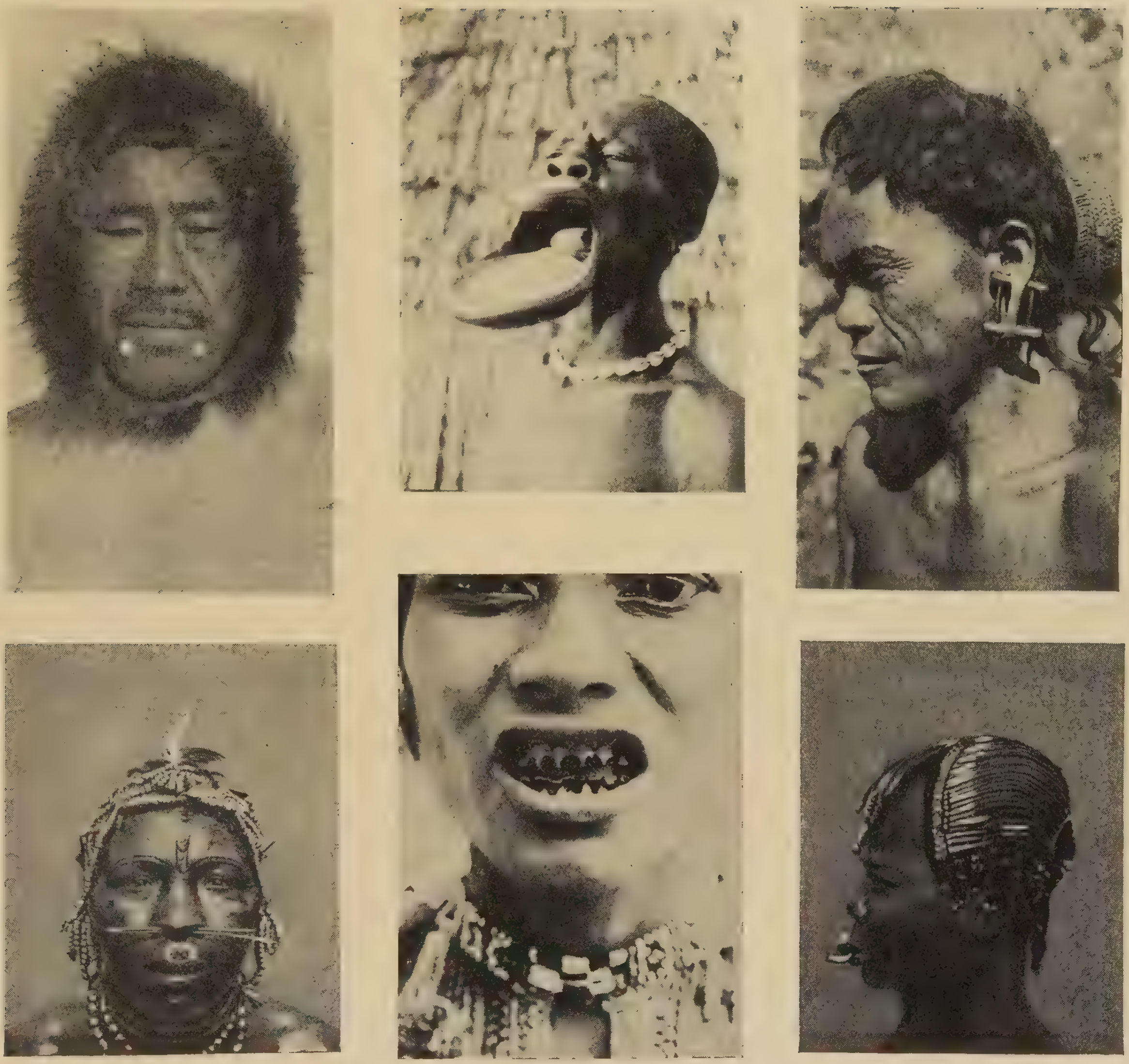

Fig. 53.

Above : left : Eskimo with Labrets.
Centre : Saras-Kabas Woman wearing Lip-Plugs (Photo Aubert).
Right : Bontoc Man. Note means of stretching ear lobe as ornament.
Below : left : Sango Woman with Nose Ornament (Collection Rouget).
Centre : Bagabo Woman from the Davao Gulf, Mindanao, P. I.,
showing fashion of filing teeth
(Photo Field Museum, Chicago).
Right : Bubu Tribesman with Lip-Plug. Note Coiffure.
(Photo Laboratoire d'Anthropologie).

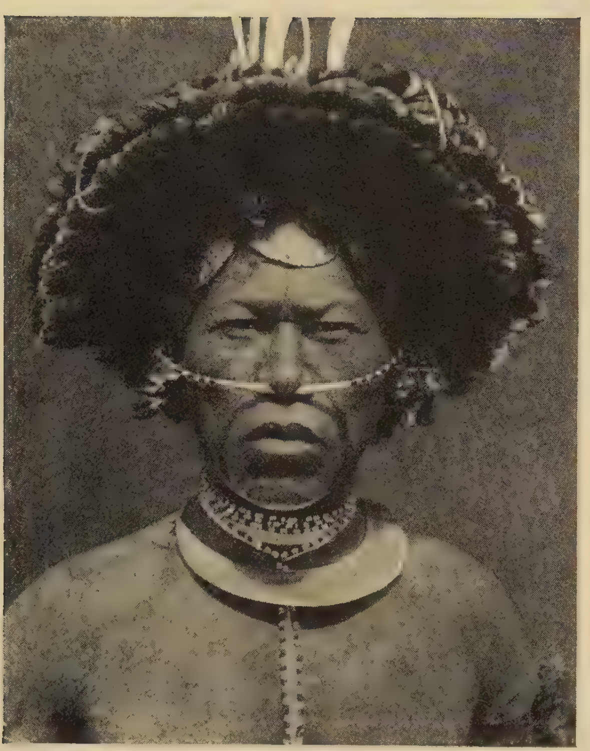

Fig. 54.
Cannibal Chief of Goarbari Tribe, British New Guinea.

The nose also comes in for its share of attention. The Polynesians broke and flattened it and looked with disgust upon foreigners whom they designated as "Canoe-noses". The Abades of Africa wear the wedding ring through the nose, and, as none is worn by the unmarried women, it is in this case a mark of social position. Holes are bored through the septum of the nose by the Australians, Melanesians (New Guinea), New Zealanders, New Caledonians and other Polynesians. The practice of wearing rings or other ornaments through the nose is widespread and may be noticed among the Bagas and Bongos, in Africa, among the Aleutians and, in Asia, among the Himalayan Kulus, Indians, and Arabs.

The fact that the ear, nose, and mouth, together with the other orifices, are so often ornamented, has given birth to a theory having to do with the securing of the person of the wearer from evil forces, which might enter his body through any one of these gates. Thus such ornaments must be considered as amulets. This theory might easily be linked up with that of Elliot Smith (45), but it is much weakened by the fact that ornamentation is by no means confined to these portions of the anatomy, nor is it found to exist in this form to the exclusion of other forms among any people.

(45) *Op. cit.* p. 153, *et seq.*

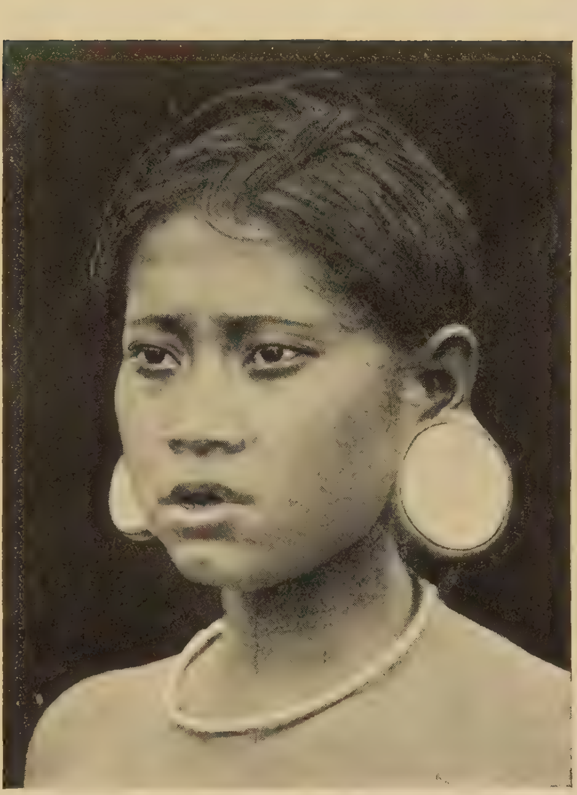

Fig. 55.
Moi Girl from Indo-China
with wooden ear-plugs.

Cheek ornaments are worn by the Kurile and Aleutian Islanders, who bore holes in the cheeks through which are thrust the long hairs from the muzzles of seals. The Guaris of South America wear feathers in the same way, and it is a peculiar coincidence that these extremes of the geographical distribution of a similar custom are roughly paralleled by that of the labret. Skull deformation is mentioned by Herodotus, Hippocrates and Strabo, and it may be that the neolithic trepanning had some relation, however vague, to this practice. Skull deformation also has a wide distribution (46). Frightfulness in warfare and a desire for a distinguishing mark of caste are the main reasons for its adaptation. This seems to have been the case with the Chinook Indians who deformed the skull to distinguish themselves from their slaves. It also seems to have been the case in Tahiti, where it was performed upon a single caste. Its effect upon the brain is unknown.

The cutting-off of the fingers among the Bushmen, Hottentots, Kaffirs, and Australians is of special interest because of its possible connection with the prehistoric practices evidenced by the silhouettes of hands lacking fingers, which have been found on the walls of caves. Among the primitives it is a sign of mourning, or a cure or avoidance of illness. American Indians cut off their fingers as pledges, while in Australia the practice occasionally denotes the profession of the person mutilated. The Gallas of Africa amputate the mammae of the male children at birth, in order to avoid the risk of female timidity.

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(46) It is not unknown in Europe, and also found among the Chinese mendicant sects, in Turkestan, Armenia, Malaysia, Sumatra, Java, Japan, and the South Seas ; in America, among the Haidas, Chinooks, and in Peru and on the Amazon.

Ratzel (47) describes an extremely peculiar form of mutilation serving as a mark of caste. The *Brechi,* as the Eboe (West African) "noblemen" are called, are accustomed to detach a piece of skin from the forehead, letting it fall like an awning over the eyebrows and nose. "This partial scalping costs many their lives, but any one who has survived this 'ennoblement' of his physiognomy enjoys all the higher respect therefor."

Teeth-mutilation consisting in the filing of or knocking out of one or more teeth is common. Occasionally the teeth are broken or inlaid or merely coloured or stained. A writer on Australia, in speaking of the custom of knocking out the two upper middle teeth at puberty, during the initiation ceremony, claims that this was done because the dark space formed by the hole thus produced symbolized the dark rain cloud which was the tribal totem, and this is perhaps an example of how extreme such explanations may be, as this one appears sufficiently dubious. Waitz (48) mentions a man in Cochin-China, where the women blacken their teeth, who said contemptuously of the British Ambassador's wife, that "she had white teeth like a dog (49)". The Batokas knock out their upper front teeth, causing the lower to project and push out the under lip, while other West African tribes practice teeth mutilation, so that it is met with in nearly every form in that region. Papuan tribes break the teeth as a tribal mark, and this is doubtless the reason for the custom in many other localities, while the pain incident to the operation, as with tattooing, fits it for initiation ceremonies such as are practised in this connection among the Australians, and the Mois of Indo-China, who accompany the operation with ceremonials. The Dyaks of Borneo inlay their teeth with brass, or gold and silver, which operations are obviously decorative in character.

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(47) *Op. cit.* v. ii. p. 108.

(48) *Introduction to Anthropology,* p. 305.

(49) The desire not to resemble animals seems to be the reason for many of the practices having to do with the mutilation of the teeth. Certain Malay races are said to blacken their teeth because dogs have white teeth, and the Eskimo of the Mackenzie River cut down the crown of the upper incisors for a similar reason.

The ethnical importance of mutilations of the sexual organs, together with their obvious religious significance, make undesirable the superficial treatment necessitated by limitations of space, but the line drawn between religion and adornment is exceedingly fine (50). With the Dyaks of Borneo for instance, we see mutilation connected with the use of the kalang which is ornamental in nature, while the practice of circumcision is sometimes regarded as a tribal mark (51).

COIFFURE. — The dressing of the hair forms the connecting link between fixed and mobile ornament (52). On the one hand, it belongs under the heading of mutilation, that is to say when the hair is partially or entirely removed ; while, on the other hand, it enters into the domain of mobile ornament, through the employment of accessories.

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(50) Remy de Gourmont (*Physique de l'Amour* p. 103 *et seq.*), makes the following observations regarding the use of the kalang and similar customs.

..."Les Dyaks de Bornéo se transpercent l'extrémité du penis, à travers la fosse naviculaire, pour y adapter une cheville terminée de chaque côté par des touffes de poils rigides en forme de brosse. Avant de se donner, les femmes, par certaines ruses, certains gestes traditionnels, indiquent la longueur de la brosse qu'elles désirent. A Java, on remplace cet appareil appelé ampallang, par un fourreau, plus ou moins épais, de peau de chèvre. En d'autres pays, ce sont des incrustations de petits cailloux qui font du gland une masse bosselée ; et ces cailloux sont parfois substitués par de minuscules grelots, si bien que les hommes font, quand ils courent, un bruit de mules, et que les femmes attentives jugent de leur valeur, d'après l'intensité de leur musique sexuelle. Ces coutumes, signalées par de Paw chez certains indigènes de l'Amérique, n'ont pas été observées récemment, sans doute parce que la pudeur chrétienne des voyageurs modernes oblitère leurs yeux et leurs oreilles, quand il convient..."

(51) See Ratzel, *op. cit.* v. i. p. 102.

(52) Grosse, *op. cit.* p. 9, says that it is sometimes difficult to separate ornamentation of the head (Kopfputz) from the coiffure (Haarputz), the former being mobile, the latter fixed.

Deniker (53) claims that the nature of hairdressing is much influenced by the nature of the hair possessed by a given race, and calls attention to the elaborate structures erected by the curly-haired Papuans, Bedjas, and Foulbes (54) as a case in point. But, while this, with certain exceptions, seems true, it by no means lessens the interest of the efforts of such poorly endowed groups as the Bushmen, who nevertheless display all the coquetry compatible with their environment and sometimes even ornament the beard with a dog's tail or shell.

Hairdressing, while primarily ornamental, may serve as a tribal or social mark, a sign of mourning, or may have a totemistic significance. And the hair also forms a receptacle for the transportation of objects which may be useful as well as decorative in nature, while certain elaborate coiffures may possibly be based upon a religious taboo which forbids the cutting of the hair. Instances of the wearing of wigs among primitives are by no means lacking (55), and it may be within the bounds of possibility that the "Femme au Capuchon", as Salomon Reinach calls the female head found at Brassempouy, forms a palæolithic example of this custom.

The methods of coiffure from the simplest to the most elaborate are too numerous and varied to describe. They consist of pleating, plaiting, top-knots, and braids, intricate constructions of clay, sometimes merely reinforced and held together by the hair, architectural superstructures, supported by sticks,

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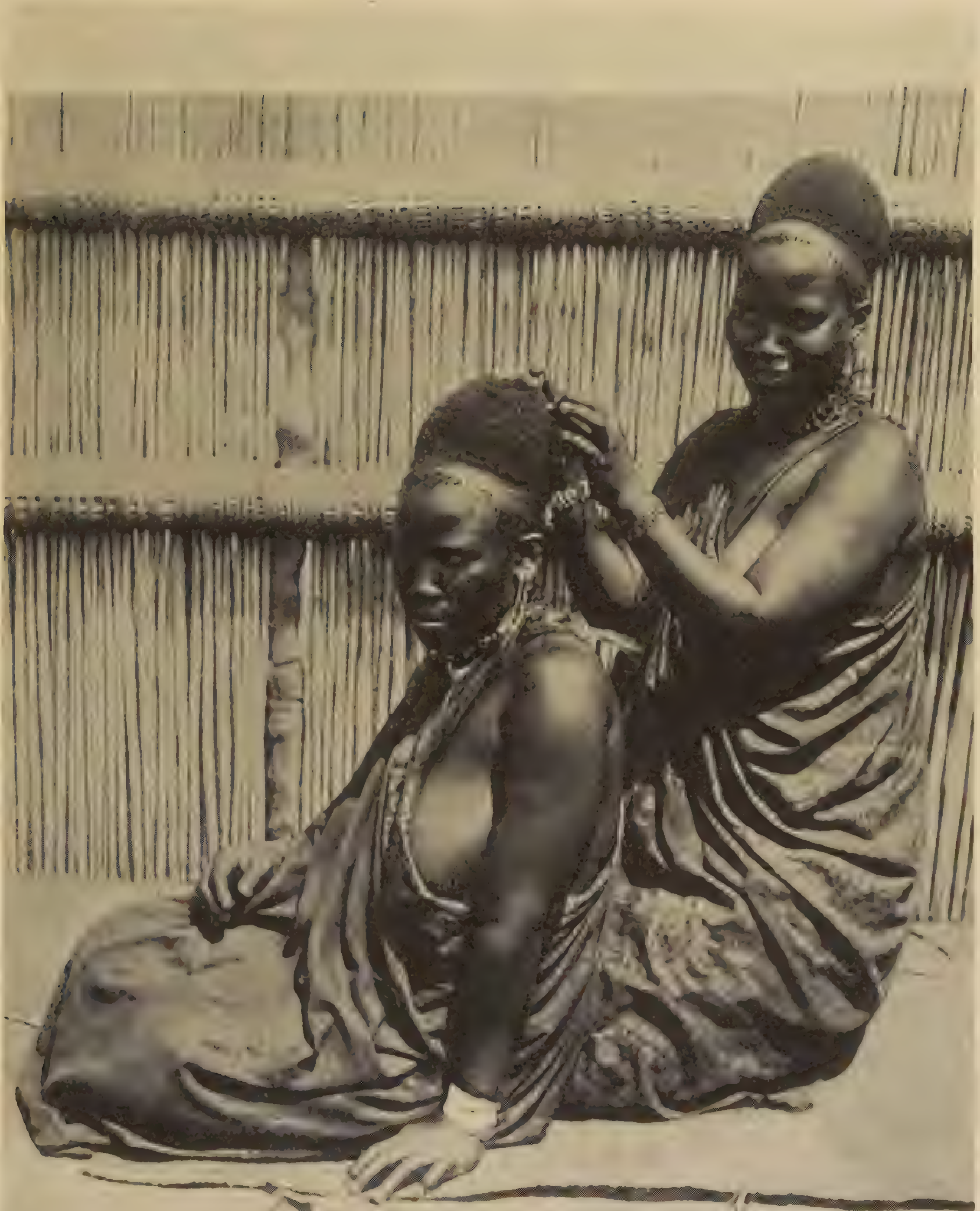
(53) *Les Races et les Peuples de la Terre*, p. 201.

(54) Hamitic peoples of East Africa.

(55) There are wigs of human hair from Vanna Levu in the Frankfort Museum, and the Goddefroy Album depicts a Fijian warrior as wearing one.



Swaziland Princesses putting finishing touches to a gala coiffure which is made possible only by the extreme kinkiness of the natives' hair. (Photo Wide World).

Pl. V.

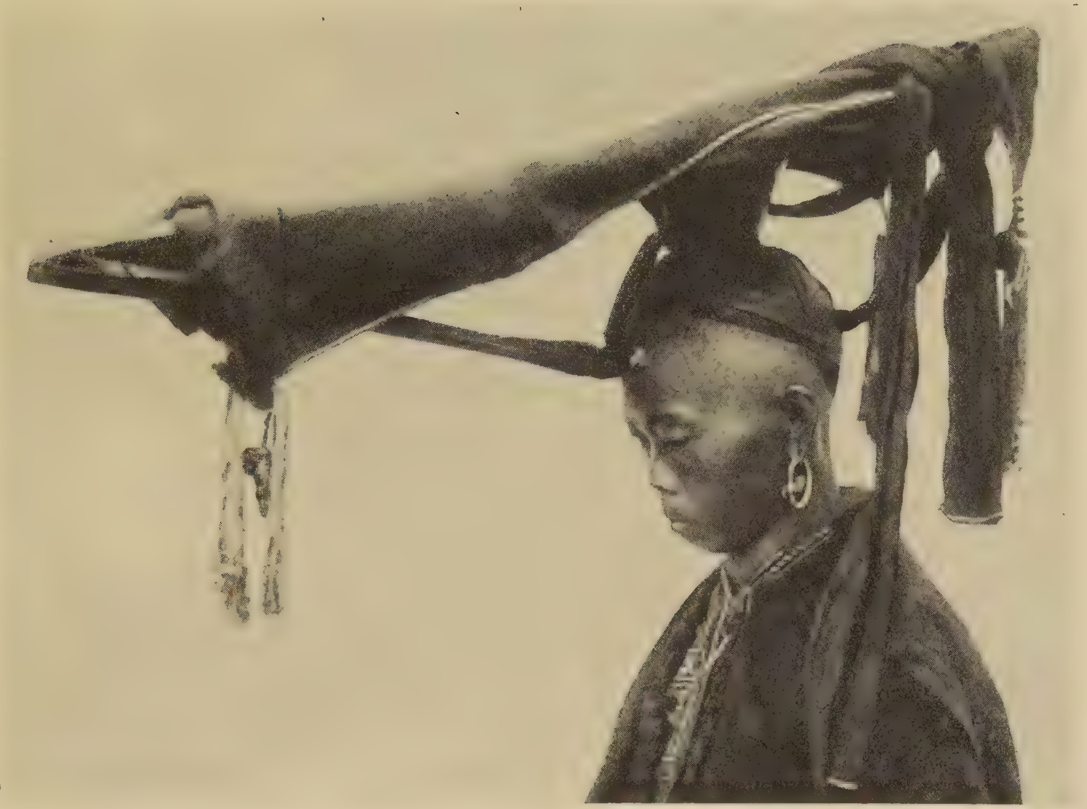


Fig. 56.

Widow of the Tonkin Mountain District, wearing Mourning Headdress.

rods, and strips of cane, domes and tiaras, exaggerated bag-wigs, and bird-like scalp-locks arranged with considerate bravado for the convenience of the foe.

Frobenius (56) says that the Suyas of Brazil shave the front of the head and thus wear the tonsure of Apostle Paul, while the Kulishen wear the tonsure of Apostle Peter, "a cross shaped bald patch on the scalp nearly three inches wide... When the young Lukhu, a member of the Bakairi tribe, strutted about in Vogel's brown woollen poncho", he remarks, "he looked like the convent student in Ekkehart's book about Charlemagne".

Lime among the Melanesians, and cow-dung among the

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(56) Trans. *The Childhood of Man*, p. 25.

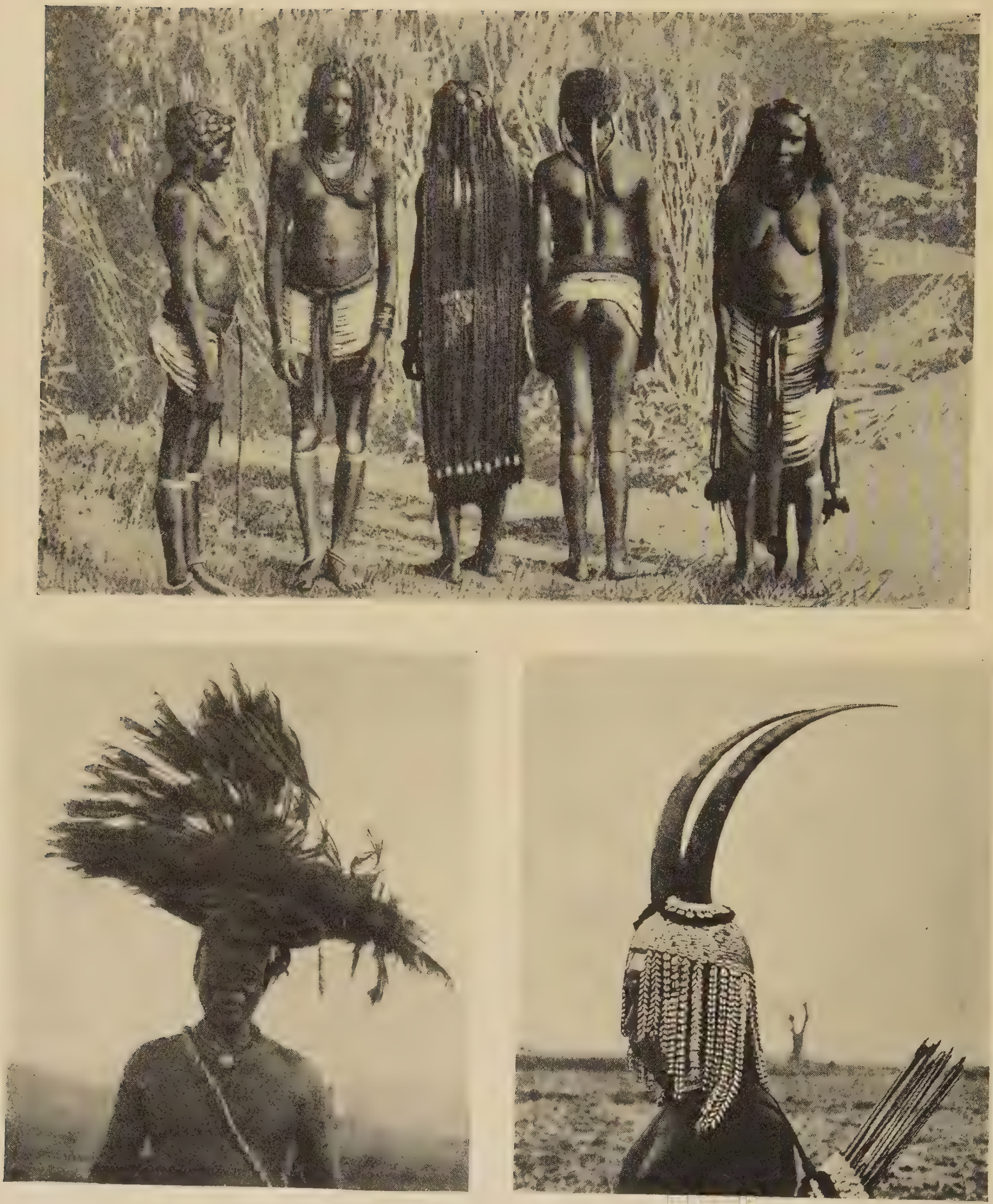

Fig. 57.

Above : African Woman with artificially lengthened hair.
(Photo Otto Haeckel).
Left : A Kamerun Headdress.
Right : Horned African headdress with animistic significance.

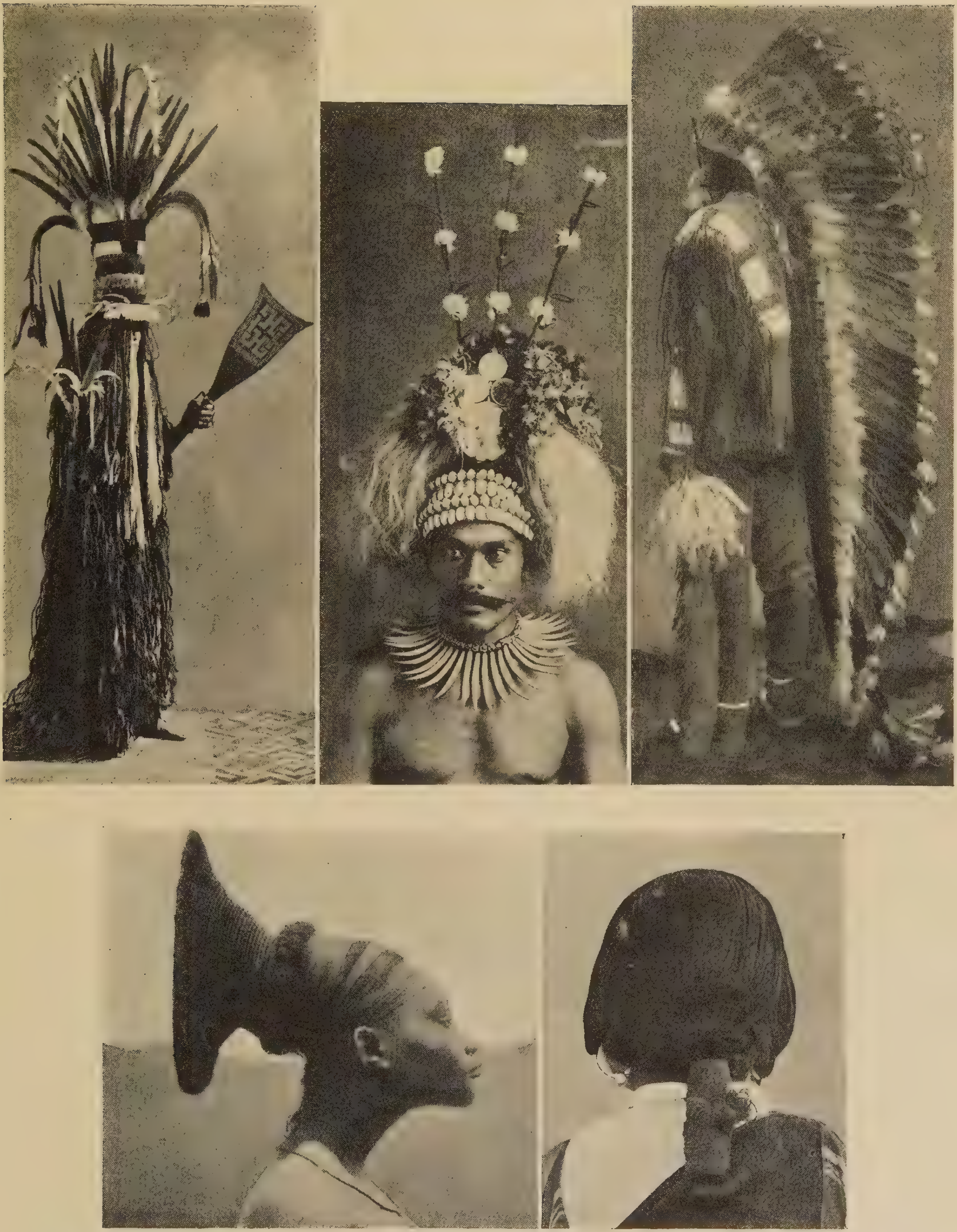

Fig. 58.

Above : left : Fish Dancer of Arawana Tribe of Brazil. (Photo U. of P. Museum).
Centre : "Taupo" headdress from Samoa. (Photo Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., New York).
Right : David Green Elk in Sioux Dress. (Photo American Mus. of Nat. Hist.).
Below : left : Wife of Mangbettu Chief of Belgian Congo with coiffure showing probable architectural influence. (Photo Aubert).
Right : Navajo Indian of Arizona with hair dressed in a style which recalls the eighteenth century. (Photo Heye Foundation).

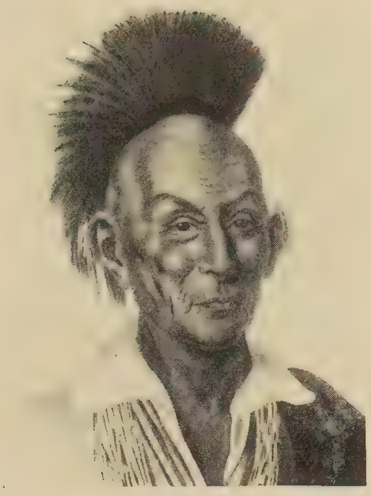

Fig. 59.
Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kian or Black Hawk, a Saukie Brave

Dinka negroes are some of the many substances used in colouring the hair and human hair forms a commodity in African markets, as well as in the civilized ones of Europe, its use being in both cases to supply material for the fashionable coiffure when nature fails to do so.

I lately had the privilege of seeing the entire process employed by a Senegalese tribe in the creation of a savage version of the momentarily modish "permanent wave", when a number of them were installed in a replica of one of their native villages in the *Jardin d'Acclimatation* in Paris. It seemed that some of the smartly dressed *Parisiennes* who were interestedly regarding the manœuvres necessary to the accomplishment of the desired result looked upon them in a sympathetically undetached manner, and indeed, to anyone who has seen the apparatus of the modern coiffure which is used for similar ends in civilized circles, the reason for their interest and understanding must at once have been obvious.

The African ladies under observation were undergoing a treatment which paralleled that of their fairer sisters in more ways than one. Split reeds about the thickness of a match took the place of the metallic apparatus used in Paris and stood out very similarly from the heads of the patients who were lying about upon the ground in most uncomfortable positions so that when viewed from the proper angle at some distance their heads resembled so many porcupines. The length of time

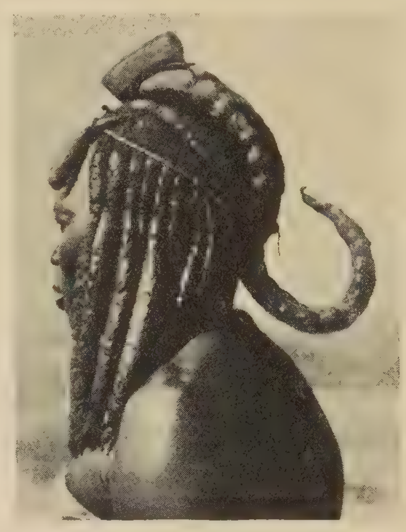

Fig. 60.
Coiffure-Headdress (Dahomey).

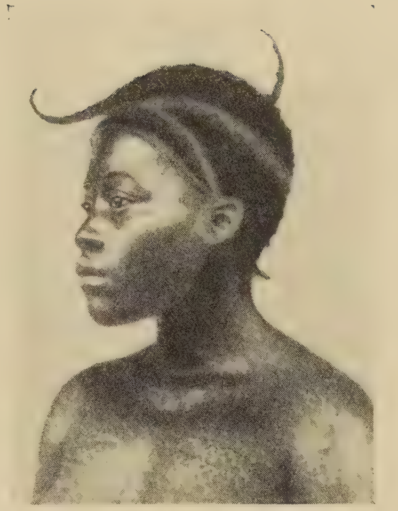

Fig. 62.
Okato Woman from Gabun, with Totemistic Coiffure.

necessary seemed about the same as that of the *Rue de la Paix*. No complicated electrico-thermal machine was needed however to get the results. The dusky hair dressers had beside them a bowl containing paste made from some black powder mixed with an oleaginous substance. They would first take a strand of hair and stretch it out to the length of the stick rolling it around it skilfully between the flattened palms of their two hands. They would then make it adhere to the stick by an application of the paste, and when they had done this to the some two hundred odd sticks used on each head, they would complete the process by grasping the now upright sticks at their upper extremities and with the thumb and index finger slide the hair which surrounded them down next to the scalp where it formed a little curl at the base of the stick which was then removed. The motive of all this was to make the hair a little less curly; just as in the civilized process the object is to make it a little more so.

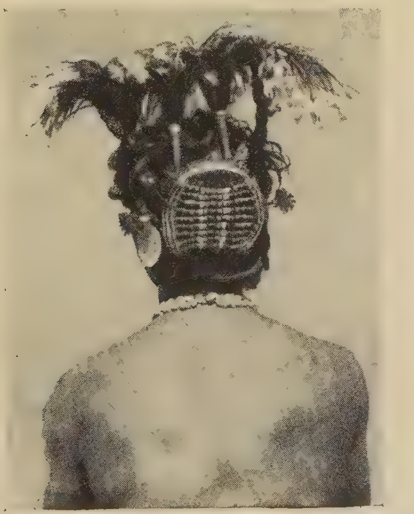

Fig. 61.
Kalinga Chieftain.

The first objects stuck into the hair, namely, feathers, or simply sticks of wood or slender bones, probably suggested the comb (57) which important implement is now used almost without exception by all peoples who occupy themselves with the care of the hair. Combs of bone were found in the Danish kitchen middens, and in the Swiss Lake Dwellings, and the men of certain tribes in Africa and Central America force the women to spend hours in the combing and arrangement of their hair. The comb also plays an important rôle in holding the hair in place and thus automatically serves as an ornament. One may see in the explanations given by Torday, as to the origin of certain mask forms, to what extremes this decorative development may go. "Under the reign of Samba Mkepe", he says, "a Kolomo was forced to arrest a certain young and active malefactor ; but as he was aged and feeble the culprit could easily escape him. In this difficulty, in order to give a strong hand to the law and make it respected, the chief chose certain young and strong men, to whom he confided the mission of arresting malefactors, and gave them the name of *Badende.* In order to prevent the possibility of revenge on the part of those who were arrested, they all wore masks of the same kind. These masks, called *Esapula,* were made of strips of rattan held together by means of fibre laces, and, resembling a large decorative comb, they were stuck in the hair immediately above the forehead, and covered the upper part of the face. To-day they have lost their signification and no longer hide the features, but are worn as a sort of eye-shade and simply as insignia. They thus evidently resemble the combs worn by the western tribes and by the young people during the time they are subjected to the Nkanda rites" (58).

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(57) The word comb is derived from the German, *Kamm*, the Indo-European origin is seen in the Greek *nomphos*, a peg or pin, and Sanskrit, *gambhas*, a tooth.

This example not only gives the development of the comb, but also a possible origin of certain types of masks. It establishes a relation, in one case at least, of the connection of the mask with the coiffure, which can be interestingly studied in the cases of other types of masks, especially those found in the same and neighbouring localities. The study of the mask itself, as a separate and distinct part of primitive costume may well be treated here, although it should be borne in mind that obviously no general connection

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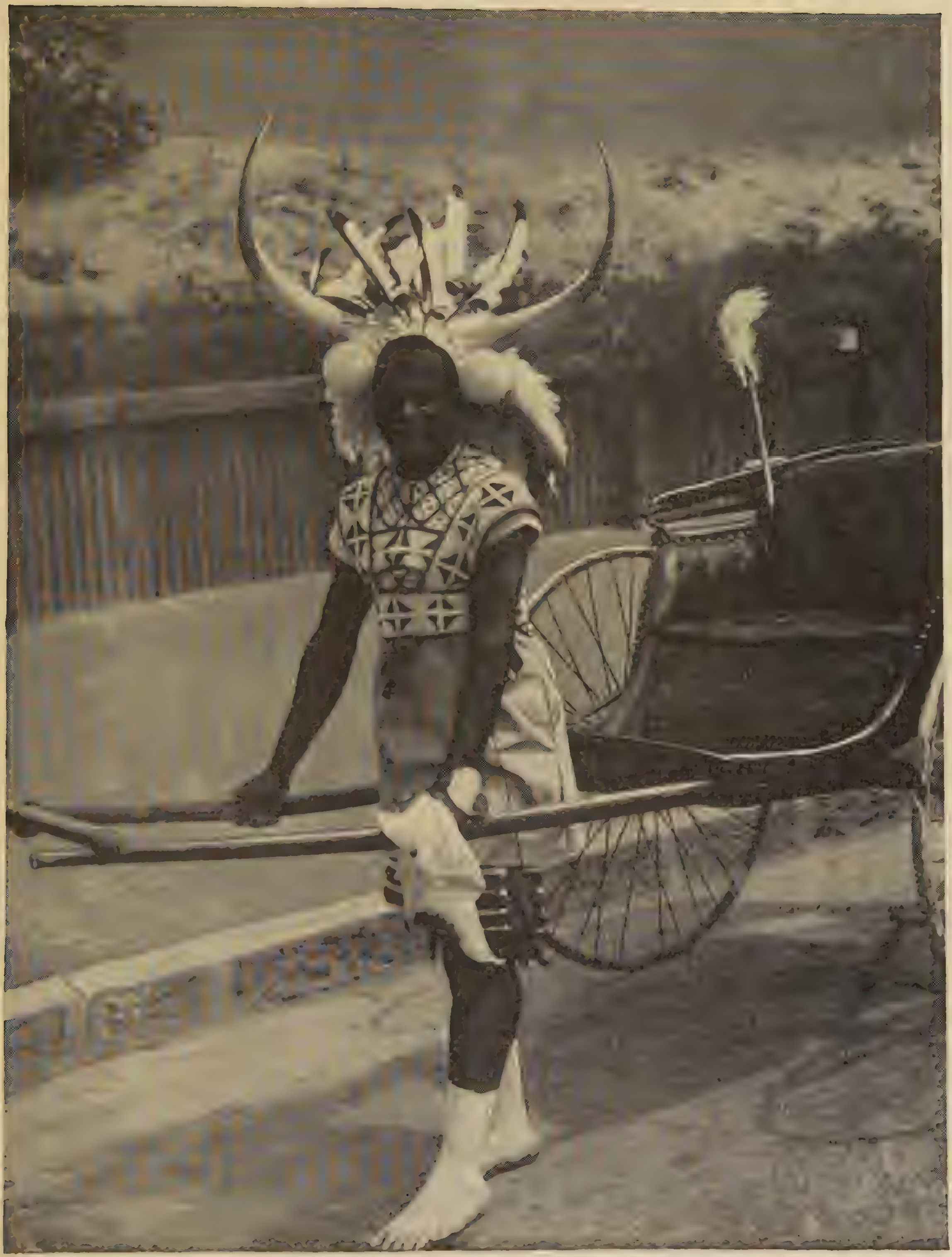
(58) Torday and Joyce, *Notes ethnographiques sur les peuplades communément appelées Bakuba, ainsi que sur les peuplades apparentées. Les Bushongo.*



South African Rickshaw Boy.

Pl. VI.

between masks and coiffure is held. The mask is a mobile, ceremonial piece which, as far as its relations and possible ancestry are concerned, might more appropriately have been treated with ceremonial and facial war painting, but this would not have fitted with

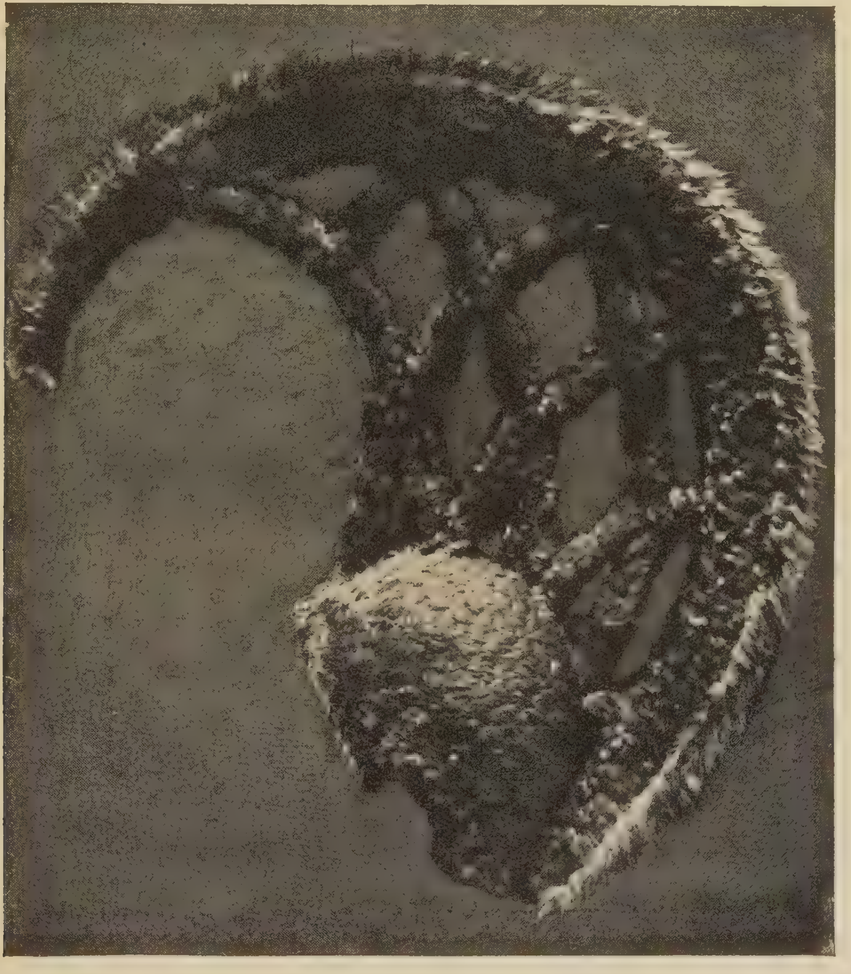


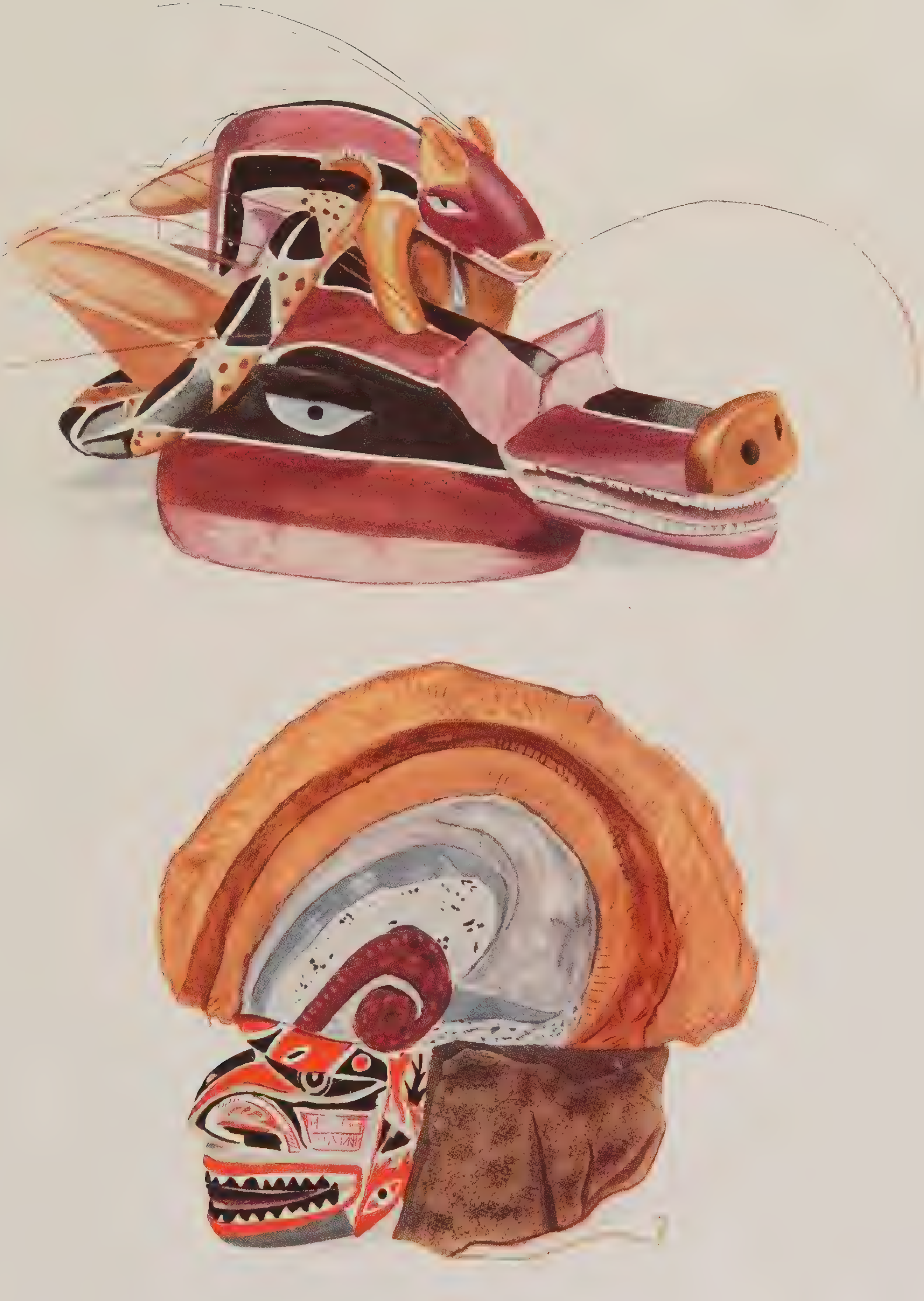
Fig. 63.

Helmet of Hawaiian Chieftain, Composed of Rare Red and Yellow Feathers.
Note striking resemblance of design to helmets of classic antiquity.
(Photo Musée du Trocadéro).

the present method of approach, and it will therefore be mentioned separately before taking up the subject of mobile ornament and its development into primitive costume or clothing.

Masks. — The mask is strictly a ceremonial object. Even in the cases where its use is theatrical or comic or festive, an original ceremonial rôle is not difficult to trace. Its employment among primitive peoples is widespread, and, if the palæolithic "masked figures" found upon cave walls are really wearing masks, as Capitan and others claim, its origin is very ancient indeed. These masks would have probably been used in hunting or in some ritual connected with the food supply. Contemporary examples strengthen this theory. For animistic ceremonies, in which sympathetic magic is employed to increase the amount of game, and in which masks are used, seem to have developed from hunting disguises, such as those of the plains Indians who simulated buffalo when stalking them, or the Eskimo who imitate the motions of the seal while creeping over the ice floes in search of their prey. Masks representing animals or fish are found in New Guinea, Africa, Alaska, Thibet, Arizona, and even among Tyrolean peasants, but in most cases their original significance has been entirely lost. They are often connected with the Totem.

An important function of the mask is the inspiration of terror. An explanation given by Torday, in the legend of the origin of the mask among the Bangongo, has a bearing on the subject. "Some time", says he, "after Samba Mkepe — who appears to have been the ninety-third king of the Bakuba known by the name of Shamba Bolongongo — had married Kashashi, the latter had a child. One day, when she left the village to go and get some water, the child ran after her. She said to him : 'Go back to the village, child, and stay with your father, while I go and look for some water'. But the child did not wish to obey, and, in spite of punishment, persisted in following her. Having to look after the obstinate child, Kashashi spilled the greater portion of her water on the way and was obliged to return to the river. Again the child insisted on accompanying her. Threats, and even punishment, on the part of the father availed nothing, and the child



ANIMAL MASK, WEST AFRICA.
MOURNING MASK, NEW IRELAND.

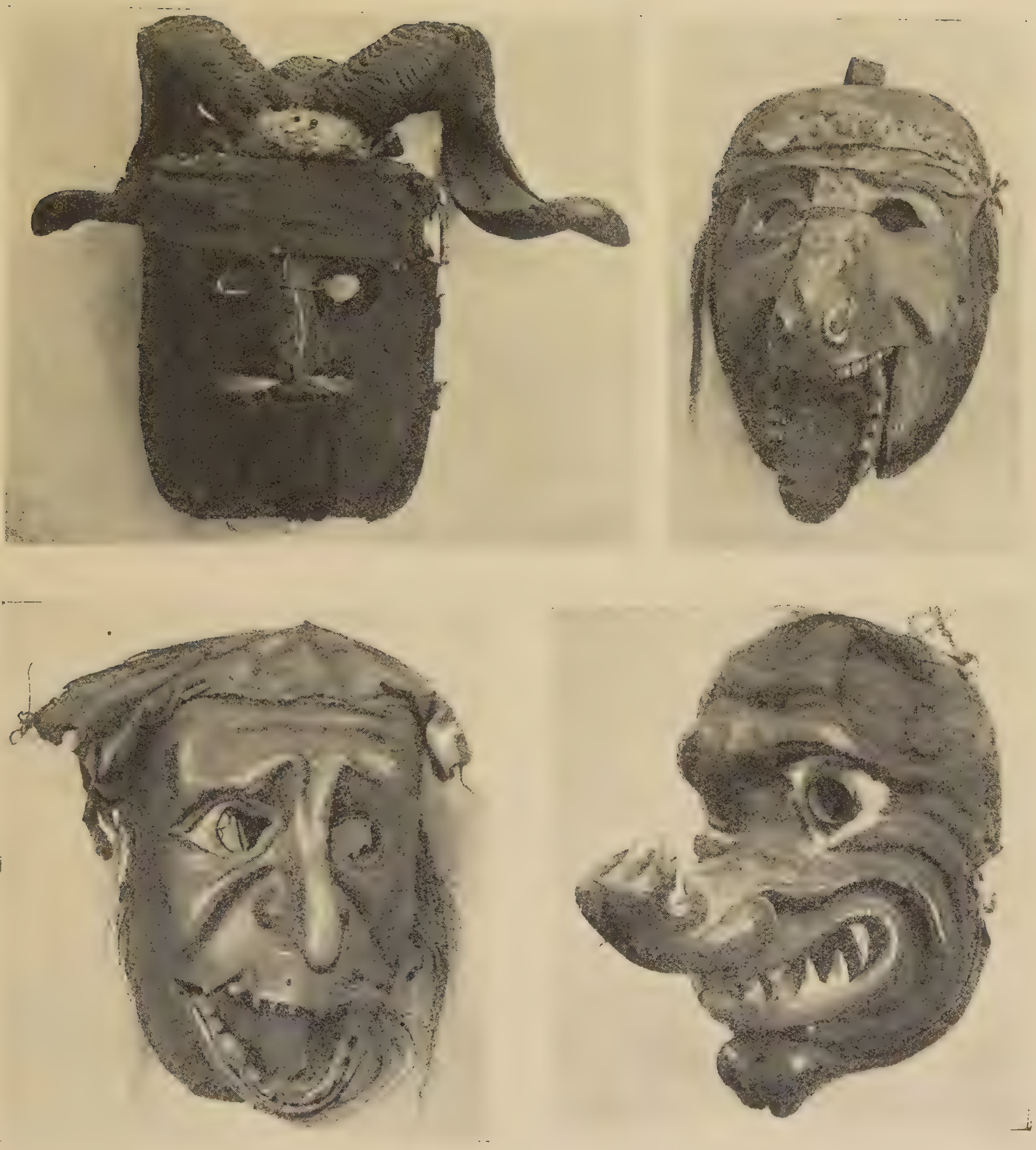


Fig. 64.

Festive Peasant Masks of Early 19th Century from Tyrol, Switzerland and Bavarian Highland.

(Photo Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde, Berlin).

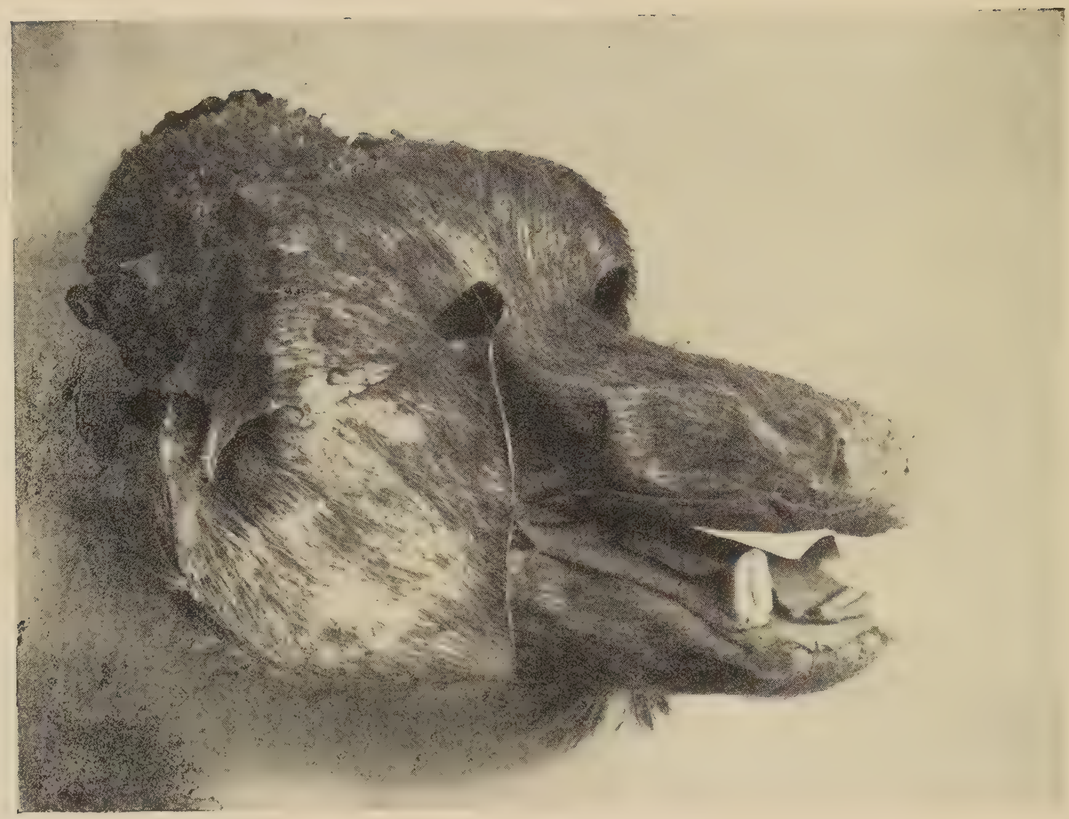


Fig. 65.

Festive Peasant Mask of Early 19th Century, from Tyrol, Switzerland (Photo Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde, Berlin).

continued to cry and scream until permitted to follow its mother. However, Kashashi was a very resourceful woman, and during the night she reflected, trying to find out how she could prevent the child from annoying her in her work. At last she found a scheme. On the body of her calabash she scratched a hideous painted visage. And when the child ran after her, she held the calabash, thus arranged, up before her face and suddenly turned around. The child was terrified. 'That is not my mother, it is a horrible *Moeshi* (phantom)' he cried and, turning around, he ran back to the village. Thus Kashashi was the inventor of such masks as the *Shene Malula* and *Mokenga*."

It further appears that Samba Mkepe was much annoyed by

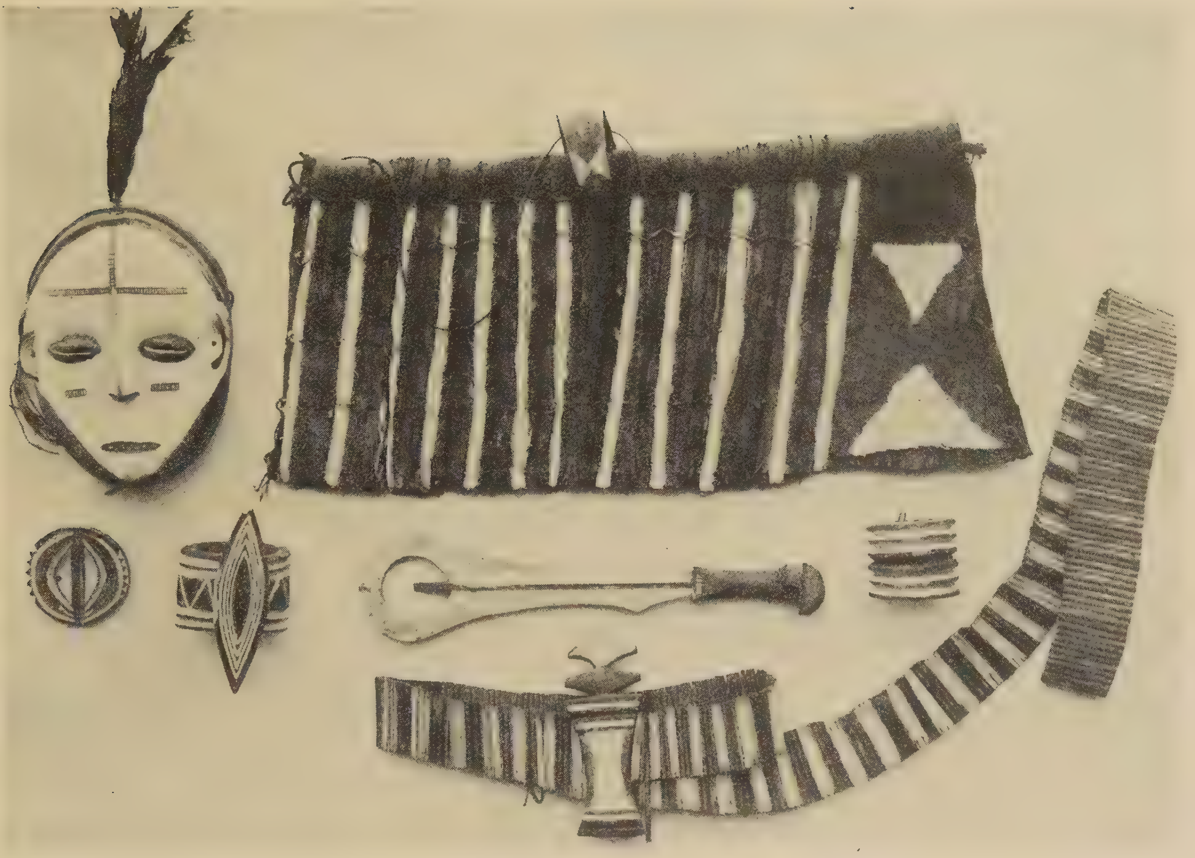


Fig. 66.

Complete Material for the Costume of the Newly Circumcised Banza or Buaka Boy (Photo Musée du Congo Belge).

the invention of masks on the part of his spouse, saying, "What will happen if, during their youth, our sons learn to be afraid of women." He, therefore, forbade women the use of masks, and introduced them in certain initiation ceremonies to try the nerve of the prospective candidate.

This custom of forbidding the use of masks to women is common, and in some cases it is believed that a woman by merely looking upon a mask, may die. Hilton Simpson (59) gives an account of the force of this belief among the Bapende, where

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(59) pp. 282-3. *Land and Peoples of the Kasai* (London, 1911).

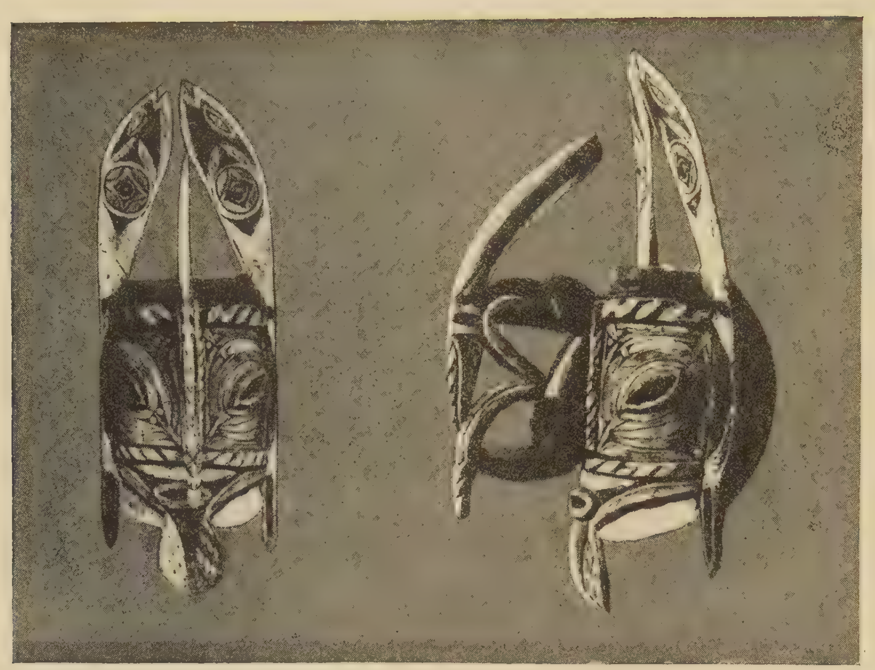

Fig. 67.
Mask from New Ireland. (Coll. Giglioli).

the boys "array themselves in curious wooden masks and palm cloth dresses for the ceremony of initiation when they enter man's estate. During this ceremony, which lasts for several days, the lads have to spend all their time in the forest or in the bush, and are obliged to keep out of sight of other people. The purchase of one of the masks might easily have let us into trouble, for one of our boys, who belonged to another tribe and was quite unversed in Bapende customs, carried the thing about the villages exposed to the public gaze, a proceeding which caused a great deal of indignation on the part of the Bapende, who firmly believe that, if a woman sets eyes on one of the masks, she will die". Among the Lunda of the Katanga, the women are warned when a masked man is about to arrive, and take refuge in the forest (60).

In the Arawana fish dance of the Caraja

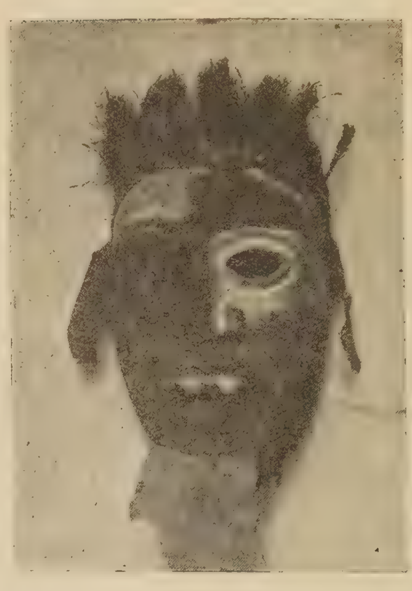

Fig. 68.
Mask of Painted Wood from the African Lungo.
(Photo Musée du Trocadéro).

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(60) J. Maes *Aniota-Kifwebe* (Anvers, 1924), p. 19.

Indians of Brazil (Matto Grosso) the women and children are given an opportunity of viewing masks and disguises, otherwise strictly denied them. These accoutrements are kept in a sacred hut or wigwam at some distance from the settlement and, "should a woman so far forget her position as to enter this mysterious hut or avail herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executive clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, provided she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appointed work". When interrogated as to why the Arawana dance was veiled in such secrecy, the chief answered that "the women are not allowed to know everything, as they talk too much". These Indians believe that the authority and superiority of man must be maintained, and that these festivals impress the woman with her inferiority (61). Little wonder that Grosse claims that the "Primitives" are practical.

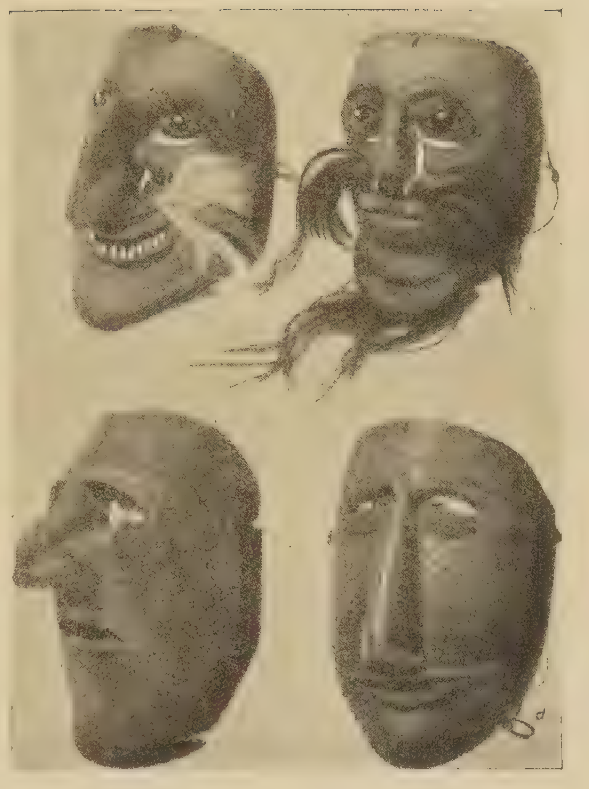

Fig. 69.

Ancient Dance-Masks, Conchagua Tribe of Central America.
(Photo from *Indian Notes*).

The theory that the mask developed from the shield held before the face in warfare is interesting, if fantastic, and may have been suggested by the survival of the mask-like face coverings on mediæval armour. Besides its use in warfare, which is rather rare, possibly because of the inconvenience to the wearer which it entails, the mask is often used to frighten the demons or spirits of sickness.

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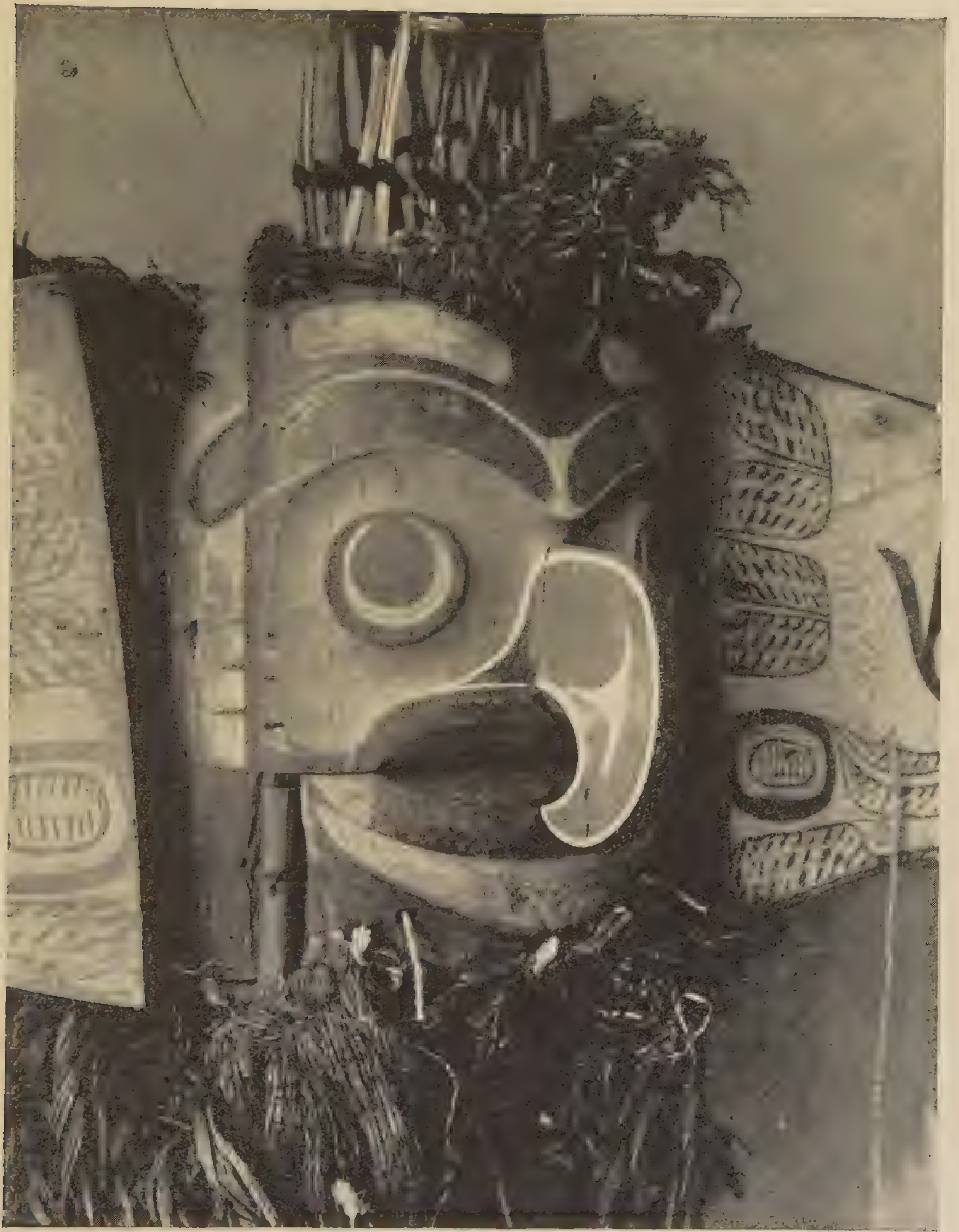
(61) Francis Gow-Smith, *Indian Notes*, Pub. of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1925, p. 96 *et seq.*

Such masks are employed by the Iroquois to scare the Ga-go-sa, evil spirits that existed in the form of heads without bodies, and caused all manner of harm, and by the Chinese and Sinhalese. In 1858 numerous masks were used at Fu-chow to curb the cholera epidemic. In the Celebes and Papua, where the demons are sufficiently bold to leave the forests and enter the settlements, they are also driven out by the use of masks.

In the Belgian Congo the use of masks is closely connected with the circumcision rites, which seem to have much in common with the ceremonies of "death and rebirth" popular with primitives, in which masks are often used, seemingly to aid in the process of completely changing the identity, so desired by the initiate. The Migrationist school may some day develop a theory showing the connection between this usage and the funerary masks of the ancient civilizations.

MASKS AND DISGUISES. — The explanation of the origin of the mask as incidental to the formation of secret societies (where it is usually used in conjunction with a complete bodily disguise), seems to fit very well with numerous and widespread practices existing virtually all over the primitive world. These disguises found in Africa, Melanesia, South America, or as featured in the antics of the contemporary Ku Klux Klan which has of late been amusing the yokelry in the United States, exhibit striking resemblances. The *Purrah* Society, of the Tulka-Susus, of Sierra Leone, has a well-defined political function, while the *Egbo* of the Calabar, near the Niger delta, is commercial in character.

In spite of all this, however, and leaving aside the generally licentious behaviour of masked personages, even when they



Mask from British Columbia.

Pl. VII.

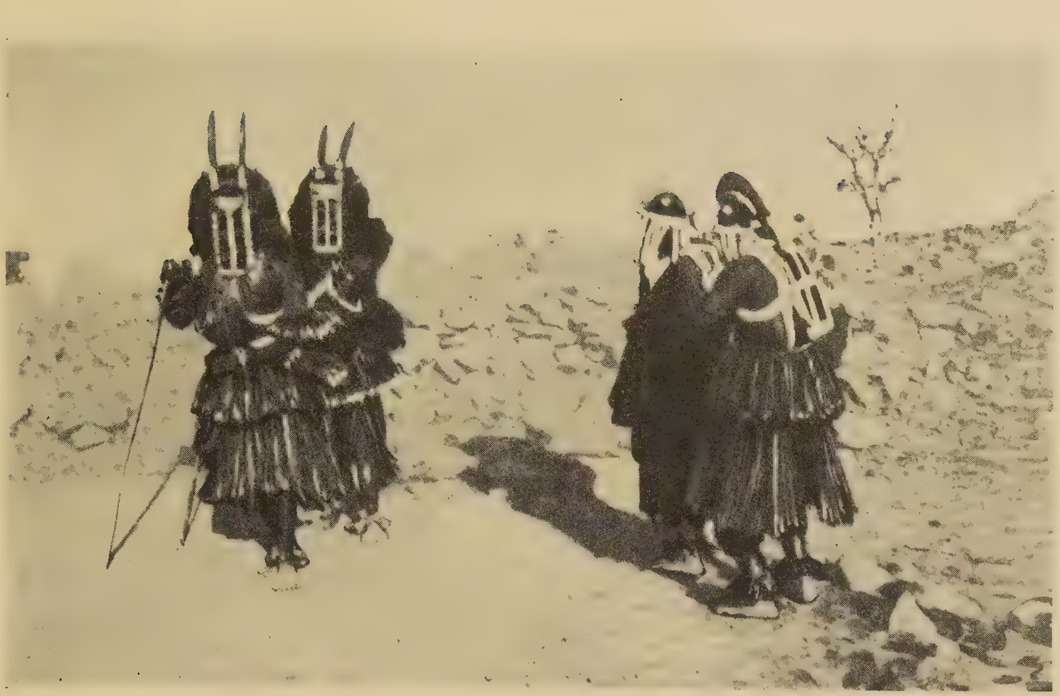


FIG. 70.

MASKED YOUTHS OF ANTELOPE CLAN OF THE AFRICAN BANDIAGARA.
(Photo Collection Desplagues).

represent such sacred things as the wandering soul of a departed chief, as is the case in Tahiti, the mask can scarcely be said to have originated as a disguise. The assumption to this effect is excluded by its sacred and mystic character. The relation which all fresh and unmodified masks bear to manistic ideas, may point to its origin in connection with the skull-mask, which is in a way the most natural, original and primitive form of all. And thus it would be more in the nature of a symbol of the worship of souls and ancestral effigies. The diversification of form and usage would hence have to be explained as due to development and degeneration, the development having to do with technique in manufacture, the discovery of new materials, etc.; and the degeneration with the loss of seriousness and belief in the solemn manistic ceremonies with which it was first connected, and consequent adaptation of the rôle of the

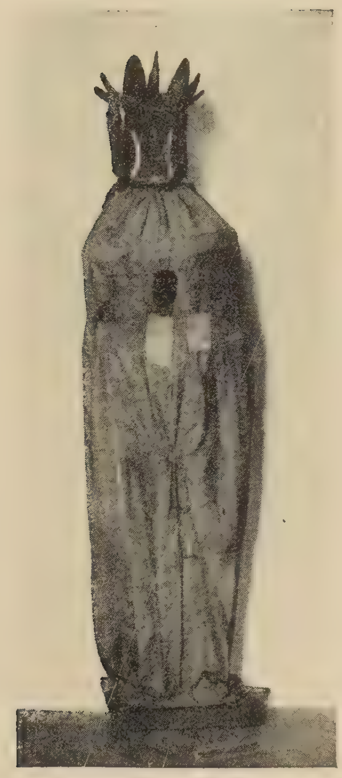


Fig. 71.

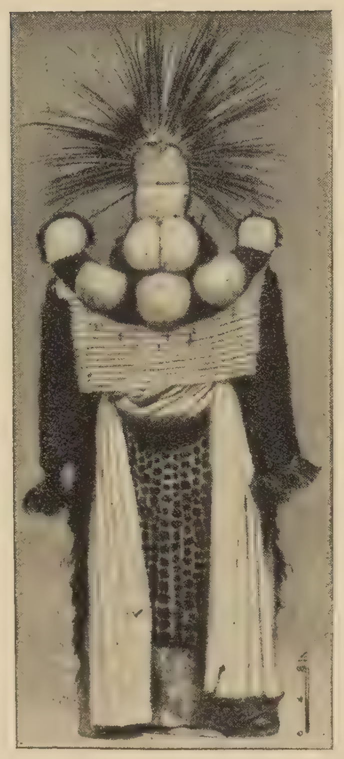


Fig. 72.

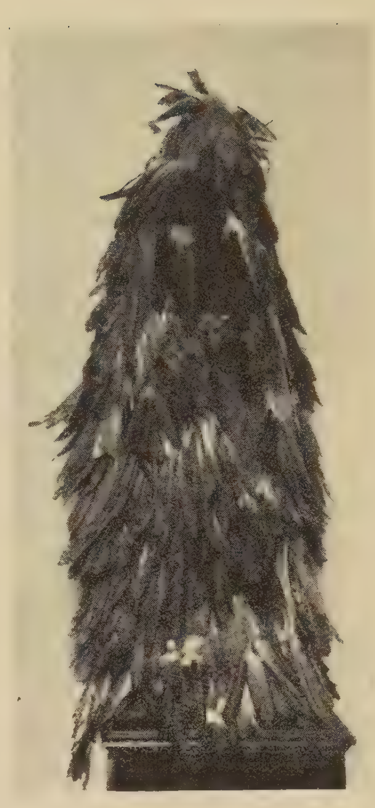


Fig. 73.

Fig. 71. DISGUISE OF AFRICAN BATEKIS DANCER. (Photo Mus. du Trocadéro).
Fig. 72. HEWA MASKING TAHITI. (Photo Brit. Museum).
Fig. 73. DISGUISE OF BAMBARA SORCERER OF BANI DISTRICT, AFRICA. (Phot Mus. du Trocadéro).

wearer in deference to the popular attitude, leading eventually to the activities performed in self-defence by the degraded buffoon. The transition from the religious to the historical, dramatic and comic forms a phase in the history of dramatic art, and the function of the mask in activities which are predominantly theatrical in nature will be treated in another chapter.

ORNAMENT AND CLOTHING. — It is generally agreed that clothing developed from ornament, and in studying the ornament and clothing of primitive peoples, this development and the relation of each garment to the particular ornament from which

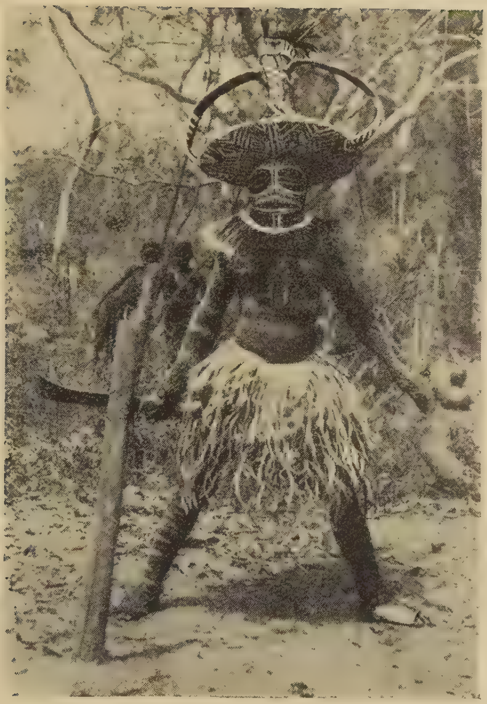


Fig. 74.

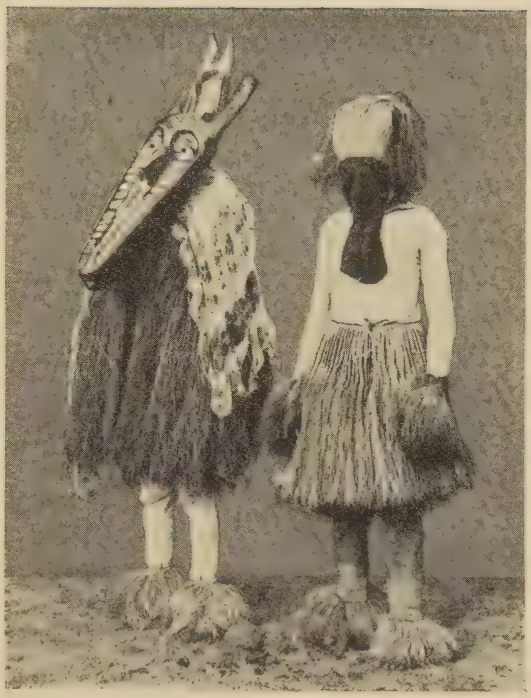


Fig. 75.

Fig. 74. Lulua African Fetishman (Mus. du Congo Belge).
Fig. 75. Native West African Devil Dancers Dressed to Receive H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

it developed can be traced. Lippert (62), says that the principle followed for choosing the parts of the body destined to bear ornaments is purely a practical one, and that the ideal order is largely ignored. In this he must be considered in error, for such is the happy architecture of the human form that the very places where the ornaments naturally fitted were probably the best of all places which could have been found. He has defined them, as "all the parts of the body forming hollows or narrow places (*verengen... rétrécissements*) below larger bony or muscular portions. These places are the following: the forehead and the temples with the bone which projects beneath, and the support formed by the ears and surrounding bony structure, the neck and

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(62) *Histoire de la civilisation.*

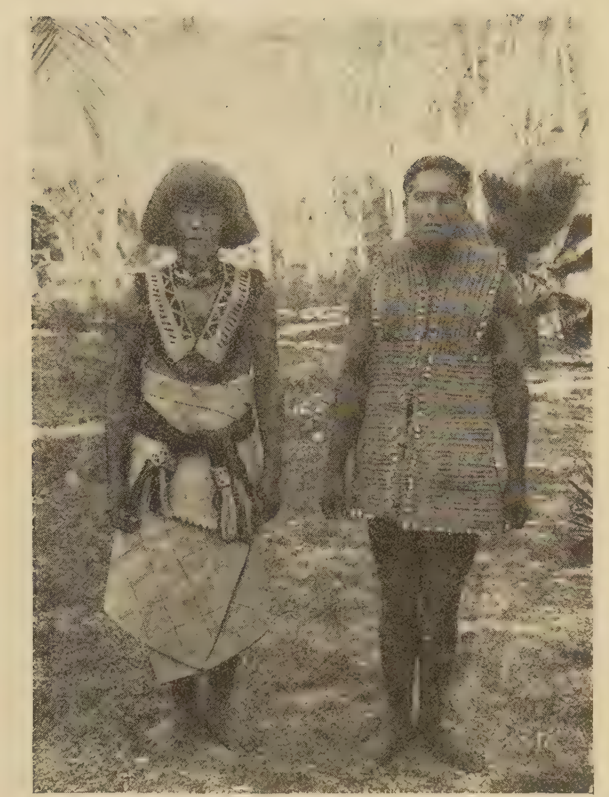


Fig. 76.

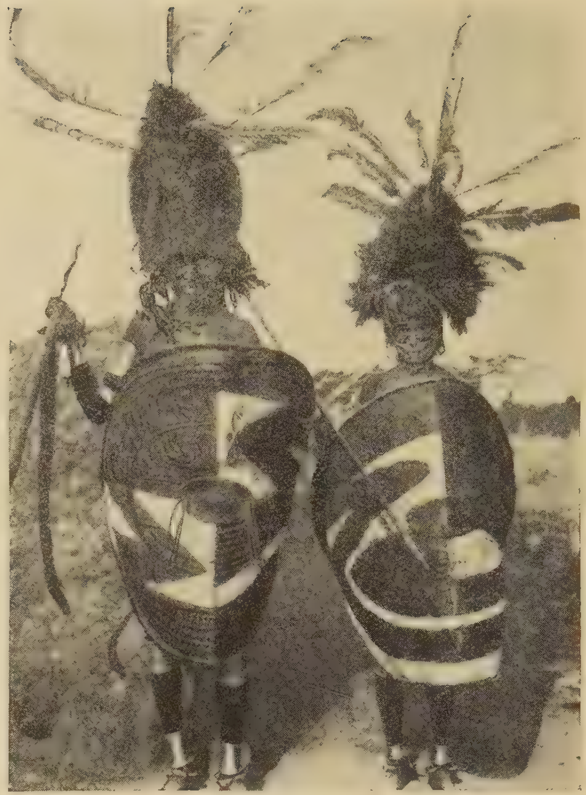


Fig. 77.

Fig. 76. — Gilbert Islander in War-Armour of Coco-Nut Fibre. (Note the lady's modish bob).
Fig. 77. — East African Warriors in Full War-Dress.
The head-dress consists of Cassowary and Ostrich feathers. The man on the left has a feather in his shield as a sign of his worth.
(Photo Otto Haeckel).

the shoulders, the thigh and the hips ; on the legs it is the region above the ankle bones (and also that just above the *biceps femoris,* which Lippert neglects mentioning), on the arms, the biceps, the wrist, and, in a lesser measure, the fingers." These ornaments are known respectively by such names as circlet, bandeau, diadem, or head-band for the head, collar or necklace for the neck, girdle or belt for the hips, anklet, bracelet, or simply leg or arm ornament for the legs and arms, depending upon their position.

Beginning at the top and working down, it is the head-band

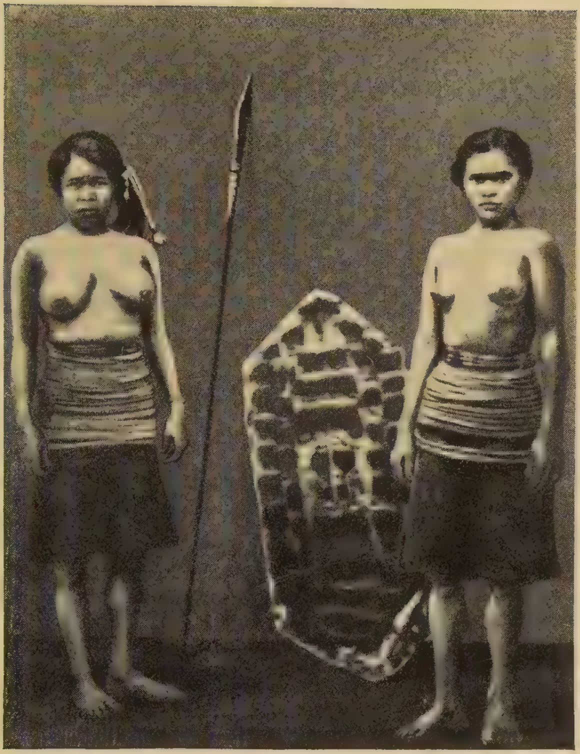


Fig. 78.
Dyak Women of Borneo. Note girdles.
(Photo Lab. d'Anthrop.)

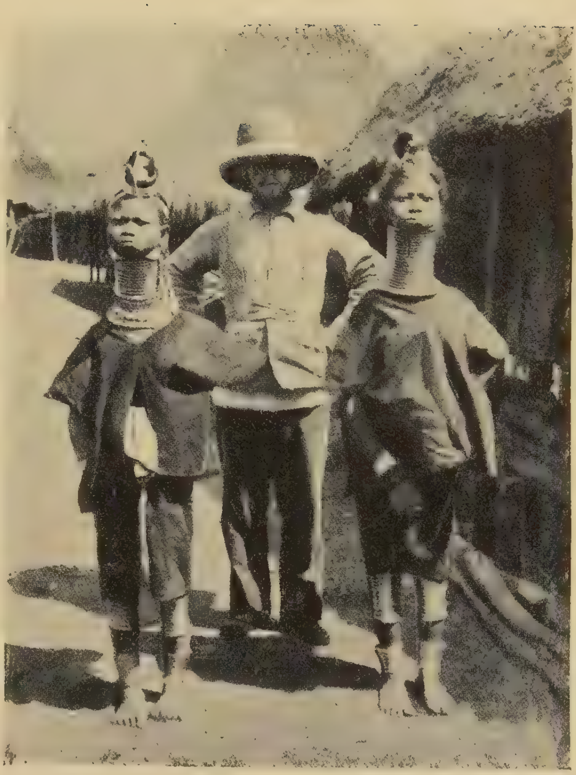


Fig. 79.
Padaung Women Wearing Metal Collars.
(After Webb).

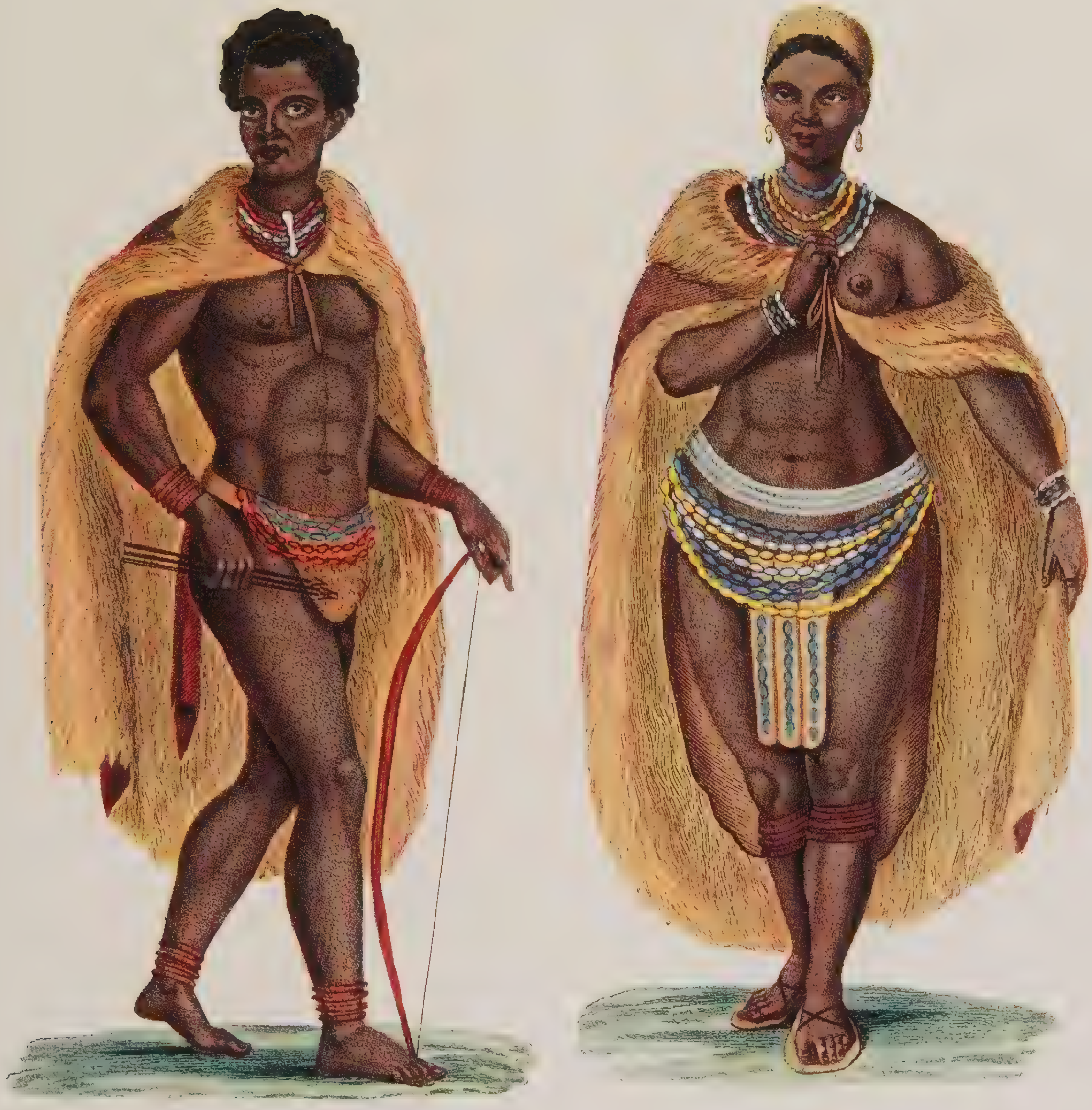
(frontal) which first requires consideration. It is the most important element in primitive head-dress, and is worn universally by all hunting peoples, except the Eskimo. In Australia it consists of a simple band of skin, though this is sometimes very tastefully decorated. In the Andamans it is a band of rolled pandanus leaf, while, in Africa, a narrow band of iron is sometimes worn. The Bushmen, Botocudos and Fuegians make a skilful use of the head-band. It not only serves the useful function of keeping the hair out of the eyes, but supports all manner of decoration and is also used to hold sundry small articles, such as arrows, or even a boomerang. In the course of evolution it has become the emblem of royalty.

The collar or necklace varies in form from a simple piece of string to the uncomfortable series of brass rings, which so elongate the neck of the Padaung belle (63) or weigh down the women of the Masai. The Andaman Islanders, who wear no clothing, have at least twelve different sorts of necklaces (64), including those in which human fingers play a part and which seem to have originated in sorcery, but now show, by the conscious method of arrangement, a connection with ornament. The nude Botocudos wear well-made collars of feathers and other substances, the rarest of which are reserved for the use of the chiefs (65), while the Australians, and even the rude Tasmanians show remarkable care and patience in the fashioning of their neck ornaments. The necklace often serves as a point of suspension for that most important single garment, the robe, or cloak, while some of its elaborations form a protective piece which, hanging down over the chest of the wearer, suggests by its appearance and possible function an origin of defensive armour, through the breastplate. It is one of the oldest and most primitive kinds of ornament, and its importance in relation to clothing is second to that of no other form, with the possible exception of the girdle. A religious example may survive in the rosary, while "lucky necklaces" bearing amulets, which are now manufactured in huge quantities, have a ready sale in such centres of civilization as New York and Paris. In the neck chains worn by Mayors in Great Britain, and by members of various knightly orders, and the attendants of the Casinos at Nice and Monte Carlo, we perhaps have survival of the necklace as a mark of caste or authority.

(63) The Padaung women begin these collars in childhood, and rings are added until they sometimes number more than thirty. As they are placed one above the other and are approximately a quarter of an inch wide, the neck must be stretched to a length of about seven and a half to eight inches in extreme cases! Sometimes the "necklaces" weigh 80 pounds.

(64) *Man*, Jour. Anthr. Inst., vol. XIII, p. 401, XI, 295.

(65) Could this show a connection with the custom in vogue amongst the Aztecs? If so it would tend to bear out the theory which has lately become popular relating to the retrogressive state of these tribes.



A NINETEENTH CENTURY CONCEPTION OF HOTTENTOTS.

(After Burchell).

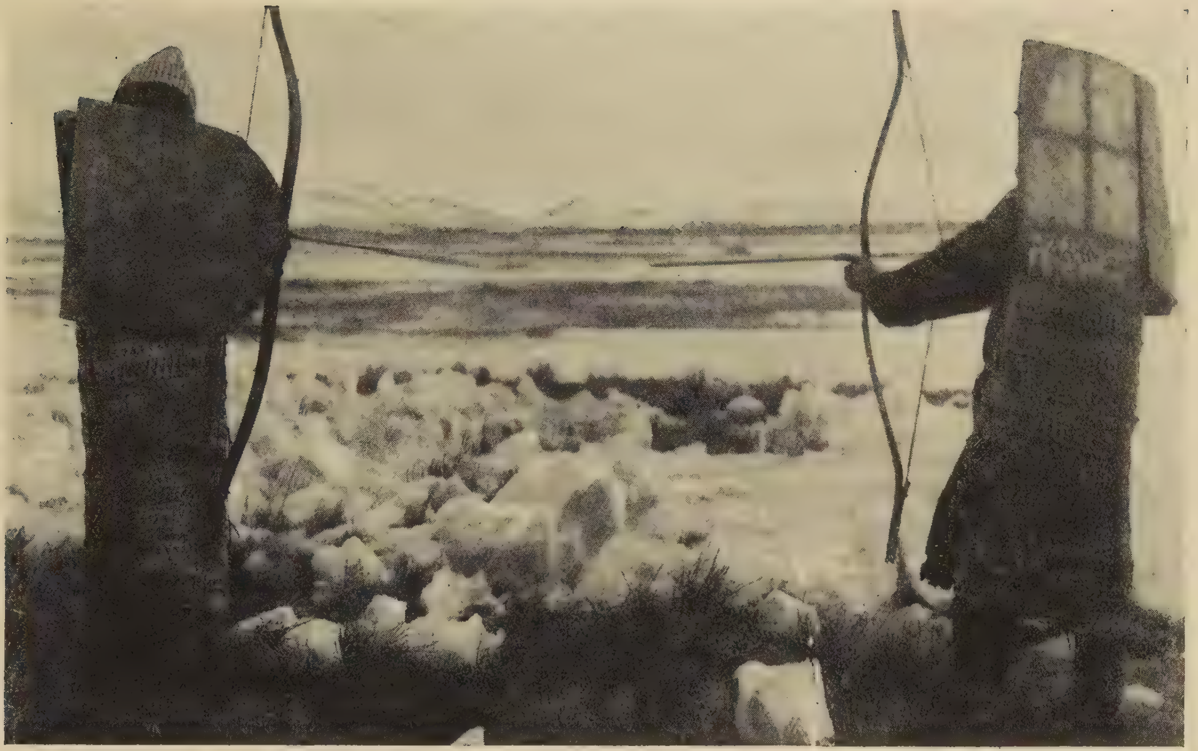


Fig. 80.

Siberian Koyaks with Armour. Showing manner of wearing shields. (Photo Am. Mus. of Nat. Hist.).

Girdles. — The girdle is inseparable from the visual image of the savage, as conjured by the popular imagination. It was the first article to be adopted by the exiles from Eden, and primitives are represented in the books of voyages, so admired in the last century, as wearing girdles of leaves, a conception not entirely unfounded, as tribes who use such forms are by no means lacking. The Fuegians and some Botocudos, however, wear no covering of this sort, while the Andaman Islanders wear a string girdle, which is entirely unequipped with anything which might tend to hide their sex. In Australia only virgins wear the apron, and though the men don it for certain dances, the belts which they ordinarily wear are preeminently ornamental or useful and unconnected with concealment. The Mincopies adopt a larger leaf than usual for sexual dances, and it is the existence of these and similar customs which is responsible for the theories advanced by Grosse and Westermarck in connection with the origin of dress. Most authorities regard the girdle as the object from which clothing developed, but there is no real reason to suppose that the necklace may not have played an equally, if not an even more important, rôle. The function of the girdle as a place for the suspension of amulets, in which light it is regarded by Elliot Smith, has already been remarked, and Jackson (66) calls attention to the fact that among many peoples this girdle was discarded as soon as the girls reached maturity. "Before mankind could appreciate the psychological fact that the wearing of clothing might add to an individual's allurement and enhance her sexual attractiveness", says Smith, "some other circumstances must have been responsible for suggesting the experiments out of which this empirical knowledge emerged. The use of the girdle (a) as a protection against danger to life, and (b) as a means of conferring fecundity on girls, provided the circumstances which enabled men to discover that the sexual attractiveness of maidens, which in a state of nature was originally associated with modesty and coyness, was profoundly intensified by the artifices of clothing and adornment". This statement presupposes the fact that clothing was of female origin, an hypothesis which seems by no means proved. Nor does it account for the wearing of shell necklaces by peoples who have no such custom in connection with the girdle. He also interestingly notes that the fig-leaves worn by Adam and Eve were originally surrogate of the cowrie, and mentions the love-compelling girdle of Aphrodite, the reproduction-impelling one of Isthar, and the belt possessed by the Teutonic Brunhilde in which such great strength was inherent, among the

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(66) Wilfrid Jackson, *Shells as an Evidence of the Migration of Early Culture* p. 139 *et seq.*

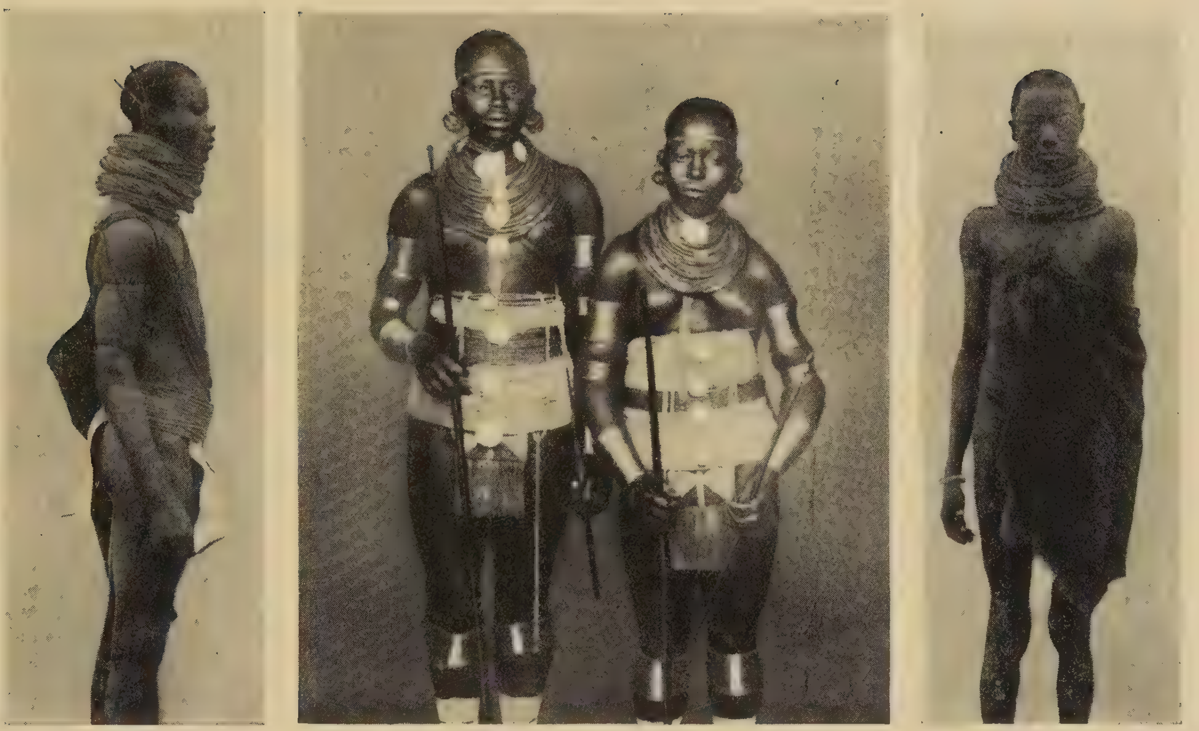

Fig. 81.

Right and left : Negroes of Ivory Coast, who, in order to develop a very long neck, which is a sign of distinction among them, envelop their necks in a curious cord collar.

Centre : East African Negresses with ornaments of heavy iron rings around body and limbs.
(Photo Otto Haeckel).

many examples of magical girdles which he gives (67).

In any case the girdle developed into the breech-clout, kilt, trousers and skirt, in one direction, and the sword-belt and cuirass, in the other. The Dyak woman wears an extraordinary corset consisting of many brass rings on rattan canes, built up one above the other to enclose the body from the thigh to the breasts, while, in the British Museum there is a cuirass made of wooden laths in the form of an extremely wide belt, said to be from Nootka Sound, and probably Thinglit in origin.

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(67) Smith, *op. cit.* p. 153 *et seq.*

The idea of strength as inherent in the girdle may have had a far more commonplace origin. The practice of European labourers of wearing tight belts or sashes is paralleled among certain primitives, notably the Darien Indians of Central America, who consider a cord tightened around the waist at the most important garment when tasks requiring physical effort are to be performed. These ideas perhaps have a sound foundation.

Arm and leg ornaments. — Arm and leg ornaments are more purely decorative in character and less connected with clothing than the frontal necklace or girdle, thus forming excellent objects for a study of mobile ornament apart from its possible connection with clothing. Bracelets were common in prehistoric times (see Chap. I) and the cave drawings found in Spain indicate the prehistoric use of leg ornaments similar to those of the Bushmen. Both forms are common among primitive peoples with whom they vary from a simple strip of leather tied about the arm or leg to the cumbrous series of metal rings or coils, such as are worn by the Nigerian natives, where they must prove a serious interference to locomotion, as they sometimes weigh upwards of fifteen pounds. The women of the Achaia Ibo wear immense ankle plates with a diameter of over eight inches (which are now usually made in Manchester and later decorated by native smiths), and, as they are riveted on, they must affect the entire life of the wearer. Among certain tribes of Amazonian Indians the anklet is worn in conjunction with another ornament just above the muscle in such a manner that the compression exerted brings about an exaggerated development of the calf, which is considered a great sign of beauty. It is possible that leg ornaments may have developed into the puttee or legging, as some races, like the Hottentots, wind their legs with leather or other materials to such an extent that considerable protection against thorns and brambles is thus obtained.

The bracelet affords a corresponding variety of forms, some of which have a certain utilitarian, as well as aesthetic, value. An example thereof is found in the protection of the wrist in archery, defence and offence in battle (68), and the additional strength obtained by compression. In oriental antiquity it served as an emblem of royalty. The finger ring doubtless developed from the bracelet.

Ornament and currency. — Lustre and brilliancy are the primary aesthetic qualities sought by primitive man. The Fuegians like a piece of broken glass, the Bushmen ornaments of iron or copper ; it is probable that metals were first attractive aesthetically. Aesthetic objects, or those in which a possible aesthetic value is inherent, form the most primitive sort of currency. Tyler relates that amongst the Indians of British Columbia, strings of haiqua-shells, worn as ornamental borders to their dresses, serve them also as currency to trade with... a string of ordinary quality being reckoned as worth one beaver skin. Ornaments seem to serve as money among all uncivilized tribes. In India it is cowries, in certain districts of Polynesia red feathers, among the Fijians whales' teeth, and quite generally, almost any attractive and workable kind of stone. The first metallic currency may have been made in the form of rings or beads. Traders have taken this weakness of the primitive mentality for attractive objects into account, and beads and similar decorative knick-knacks form a goodly proportion of their stocks.

The connection of ornaments and currency is facilely explained by Elliot Smith in following his premise of the high value which has ever been attached to cowrie-shells, and other givers of life (69). He shows that "the Egyptian emblem for gold, the sign *nub*, represents a collar from which golden amulets, probably

(68) "...With the Madis the arm-rings are developed into dangerous weapons, furnished with spikes two or three inches long. Then again the Jurs wear an elegant arm-ring, finished off with two sharp points forming a fork, so that it can be equally well used as a weapon. The Iringa arm-ring is made of a sharp edged plate of iron of circular form. In peace the outer edge is covered with a leather sheath and this being removed for fighting reveals a formidable weapon". Ratzel., *op. cit*, pp. 28, 29, v. ii.

(69) The wide spread use of the cowrie as money as well as for ornamental purposes, certainly tends to give credence or at least interest to some such an explanation as that advanced by Smith. It has been remarked by travellers in different parts of the world at

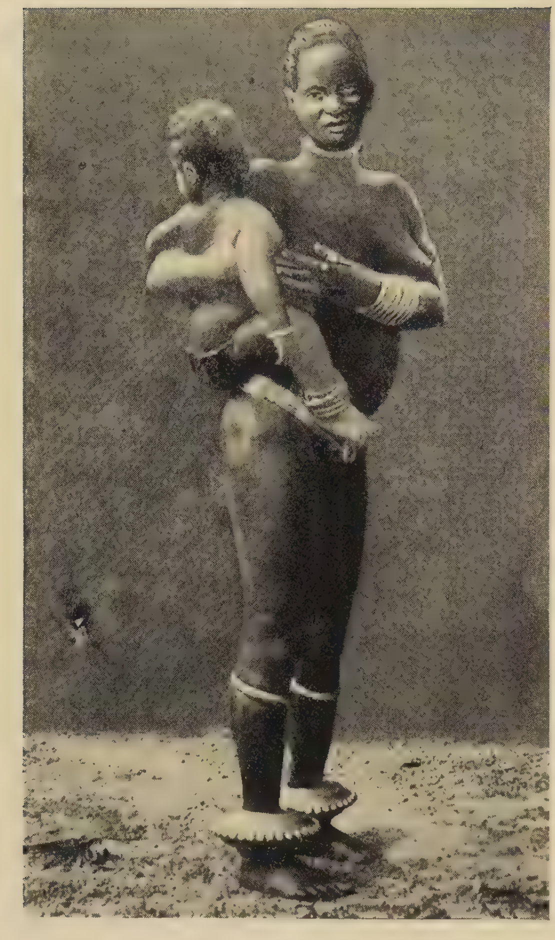

Fig. 82.
East African Woman with Heavy Metal Anklets.

representing cowries, are suspended. With the introduction of the practices of wearing shells on girdles and necklaces and as hair ornaments, the time arrived when peoples living some distance from the sea experienced difficulty in obtaining these amulets in quantities sufficient to meet their demands. Hence they resorted to the manufacture of these shells in clay and stone. But at an early period in their history the inhabitants of the deserts between the Nile and the Red Sea (Hathor's special province) discovered that they could make more durable and attractive models by using the plastic yellow metal which was lying about in these parts unused and unappreciated. This practice first gave to the metal gold an arbitrary value

different periods, and the mass of evidence which is peculiarly similar, may only be waived on the ground that the cowrie was above all other shells of a more or less wide distribution, particularly beautiful. Marco Polo, in his "Travels" mentions its use. (*The Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian*, Lib. II, chap. XXXIX, *Of the Great Province of Karaian, and of Yachi its principal City*) "For money", he says, "they (the inhabitants) employ the white porcelain shell found in the sea, and these they also wear as ornaments about their necks. Eighty of the shells are equal in value to a saggio of silver or two Venetian groats, and eight saggi of good silver, to one of pure gold, etc." In the edition with introduction and notes, by John Masefield, (London 1926), the footnote, p. 245, states that the shells mentioned were the well known *Kari* (cowrie) of Bengal, *Cypraeae monetae*. Major James Rennell (*Bengal Atlas*, London 1779) gives an interesting account of the manner of distribution of the cowries as a monetary unit, which is closely connected with and affirms Polo's statement. "In 1764", he says, "I was told that Shilet (an inland province to the north east of Bengal) produced cowries, and that they were dug up. This, of course, I disbelieved ; but when I was there in 1767 and 1768, I found no other currency of any kind in the country ; and upon an occasion when an increase in the revenue of the province was enforced, several boat-loads (not less than fifty which it did not possess before" (70)... It is easy to understand how the "lifegiving" attributes of the shells became transferred to the gold, but it would be interesting, if more difficult, to trace the exact connection between the whales' teeth used as currency by the Fijians, and the feather-money of the Polynesians, and the cowrie. Furthermore, as Smith admits, "amulets made of these materials made a strong appeal to the aesthetic sense", as, in fact, do all amulets except those which can be directly traced to either the food supply or trophyism (71).

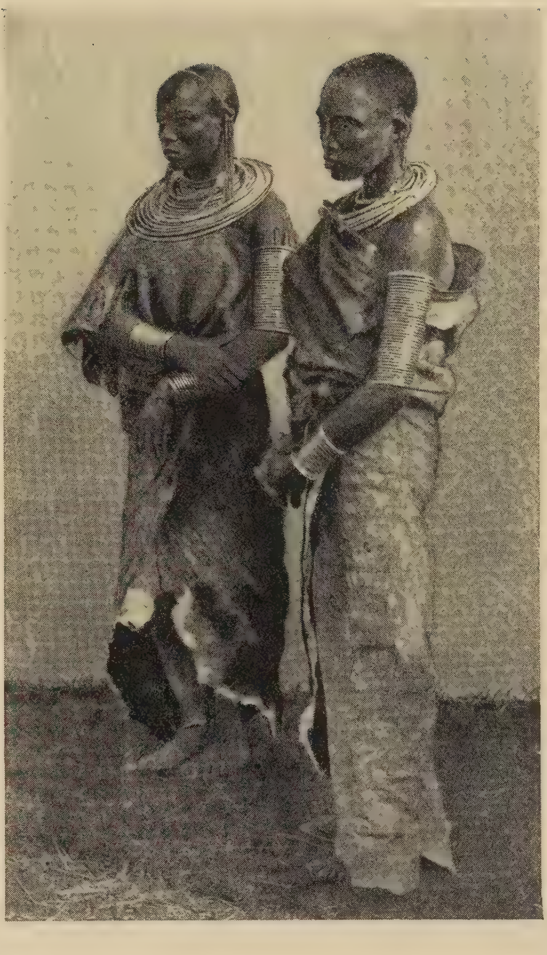

Fig. 83.
Uganda Women with Primitive Garments of Skin. (Photo Otto Haeckel).

This contains a hint borne out by centuries of usage, that, whether connected with the cowrie and givers of life or not, it is certain that objects which possess the two requirements of satisfaction of man's inherent aesthetic sense, through their lustre, form or colour, and an arbitrary value resulting from scarcity, acquire a certain worth through the social workings of caste and ego. It seems but logical that the owner of such objects should carry them upon his person.

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tons each) were collected and sent down the Burrampooter to Dacca. Their accumulation was probably the consequence of Shilet being, at that period, the most remote district in which they passed current and from whence they could not find a way out but by returning to Bengal."

(70) Smith, *op. cit.* p. 221 *et seq.*

(71) Enc. Brit. *Money*, v. *Leather money among hunting and pastoral peoples.*

When Stanley, on his first famous crossing of Africa, reached the locality now known as Stanley Pool, he found that the use of brass as ornamental currency had preceded him. Chumviri, a negro Midas, had decorated his wives with rings of it, forged around their necks. These weighed from forty-four to ninety pounds. Because of the extremely high value placed upon this commodity, the problem arose as to whether it should be buried with its wearer upon her decease or not. On account of the manner in which it was attached, separation from the neck which it had so long embellished was not without difficulties. An answer to the question was a meaningful line drawn with the finger round the neck, and the precious metal was preserved for the use of future generations of royalty by a simple operation of *post mortem* decapitation, which must have saved considerable filing.

The actual materials for personal adornment have shown little change through the ages. Furs and feathers are as popular as ever, while articles which shine or glitter command a price as high as their scarcity warrants. The "life-giving" qualities of the shell have doubtless been transferred to the pearls which they contain, though the shells themselves survived until the day before yesterday in the buttons of the "coster" and on the bracelets worn by the poorer Venetians.

Elements, from which an elaborate primitive costume could be designed sufficiently barbarous to gladden the heart of any savage ruler, can be found with ease at the nearest departmental store... The Eskimo must now content themselves with heavy woollen underwear and shirts, for the few remaining sealskins appear in metropolitan salons, while the Audubon societies make frantic efforts to stem the slaughter of the gorgeous birds of plumage which furnished primitive currency, for indirectly they furnish currency still. The use of ornament has been somewhat lessened by democracy and long-range fire-arms, but Grosse's supposition that it will persist as long as we have two sexes, (the individual's taste being gauged by his or her fondness for ornament, while the success of this ornament does not gauge the individual's taste) is probably correct.

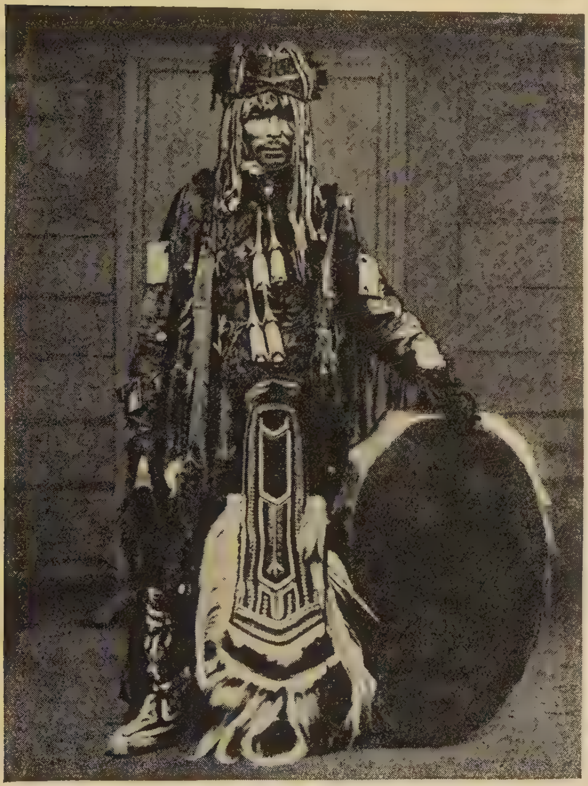

FIG. 84

SIBERIAN SHAMMAN.

(Photo U. of P. Mus.).

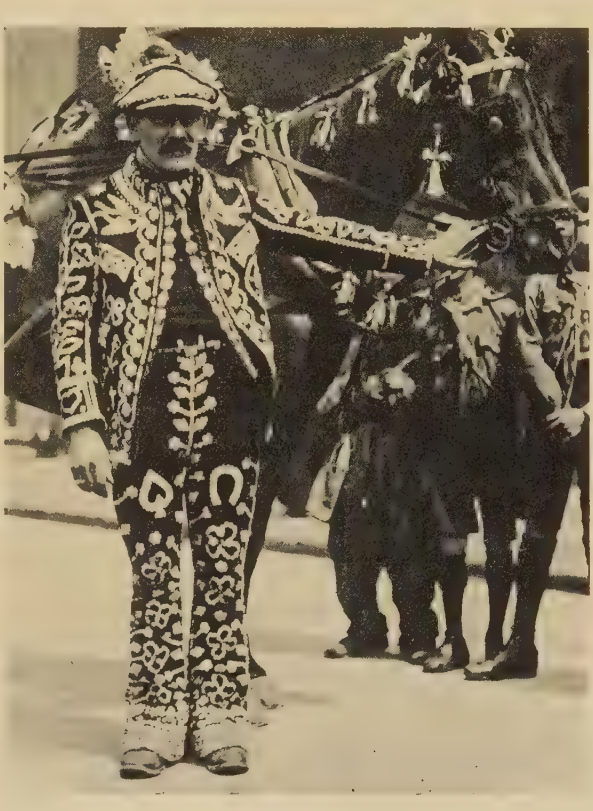

FIG. 85

THE "PEARLY" KING, LONDON.

(Photo W. Whitfin).

FABRICS AND GARMENTS. — It is difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate distinctly between clothing and ornament. Ornament often exists without clothing, but clothing seldom, if ever, exists without ornament; even on the most unpretentious and practical clothes there are at least vestiges of ornamentation. Where ornamentation is so faint as to be practically non-existent, those who find themselves forced to wear the odious unornamented garments often attempt to supply it, for it appears that such garments would only be worn through necessity. Prisoners of war in Great Britain were furnished with clothes free from ornamentation, which were of a sulphurous yellow to prevent them from being sold. "In dress", says Francis Abell (72) "it was the aim of everyone to disguise the hideous prison garb as much as possible, the results often being ludicrous in the extreme". A consideration of the relation of ornamental uniforms to the *morale* of the men who wear them has been a subject of serious discussion in military circles, since the scientific lack of picturesqueness brought on by the exigencies of the World War.

The first clothing, in a strict sense of the term, seems to have covered the shoulders, and it may have been the result of

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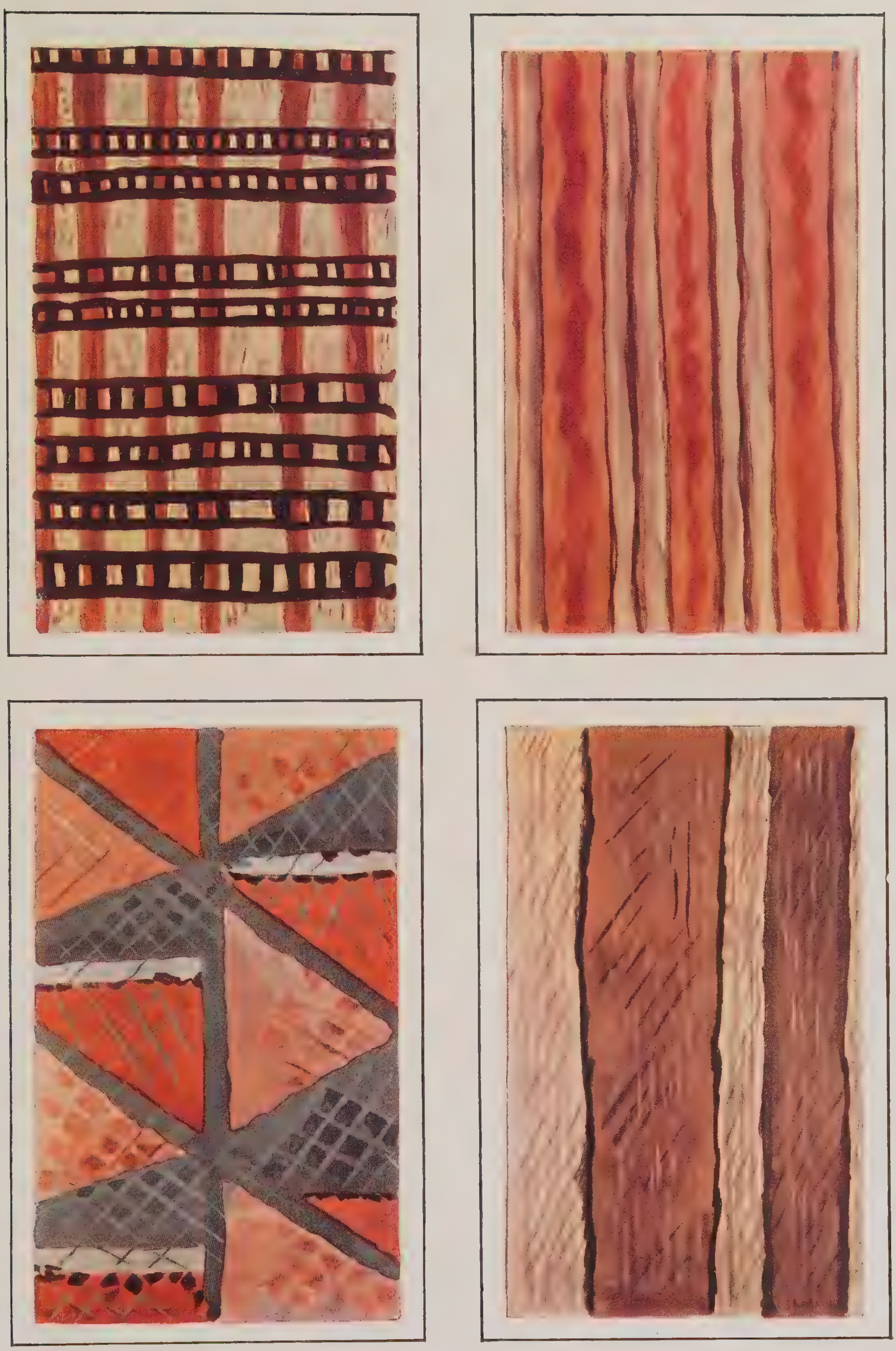
(72) *Prisoners of War of Britain*, Francis Abell, 1756-1815, p. 255 (Oxford, 1914).

This same preoccupation with clothing is evident in the case of Robert Joyce Trasker, a writer invited by the authorities to pass some time in meditation in the San Quentin prison near San Francisco. In an article in the *American Mercury*, vol. X, § 39, March 1927, in which he describes his sensations upon entering the institution he stresses the physical discomforts of the prison garb, but I believe that the possible discomfort involved in the wearing of such garments is accentuated to such a point as a subconscious protest against their hideous appearance, for save in the case of the underclothing I fail to see how their use would result in any serious inconvenience in such a universally uncomfortable environment. His description with its careful attention to colour, texture, and cut seems to bear out this assumption. "At last I stepped out of the tub and dried myself with a coarse towel. Unseen hands had removed my discarded clothes, and placed my new ones on a stool. The underwear was of two pieces, the lower garment reaching to my ankles, and the upper extending from my throat to my wrist. It was heavy stuff, and even as I drew it on, I knew that it would bring me hours of torture when the heat of the day set in, for the fabric against my skin was clinging, woolly, irritating. There were trousers of heavy blue material..., rough hairy cloth that would fade quickly and lose all semblance of shape in the first rain. They were tailored with no thought to the contours of the body. A shirt of similar but lighter stuff proved to be much too large for me in every part except the sleeves, and these were uncomfortably tight about the armpits, were ludicrously full at the elbows and at least two inches short.

"Already I began to feel as though laced into Arctic clothes. The socks I was given were of heavy white cotton. My feet, if they may be credited with senses of their own, sent up an indignant protest. Then came brogans, high-topped, built on the lines of Boy Scout shoes, but poorly shaped. Followed a cap of the trousers material the cardboard bill fitting wretchedly against my forehead. Lastly a coat was slipped on, a sort of jacket, bunchy and out of all proportion as it hung upon me., etc."



SAMPLES OF STUFF FROM THE BOOK OF TAPA.

The pieces of cloth are bound up in the book, having been collected by Captain James Cook among the natives of the South Sea Islands.

(Courtesy U. of P. Mus.)

trophyism which led the hunter to tie the skin of his prey around his neck. Nearly everywhere we find shoulder covering in the form of a cloak. The Bushmen sometimes wear a sort of abbreviated cape, or carry the *kaross* of skins sewn together upon their shoulders. Australian natives employ a cloak of opossum or dog's skin, while some tropical tribes protect themselves from the rain by a similar garment made of leaves.

Skins of animals are generally considered to have been the first materials of which clothing was made, and the natural form inherent to them must in many cases have influenced the form of the resulting garments. Weaving and textiles apparently have a very ancient origin, for although the oldest examples which have been preserved date from the Neolithic period, the delicacy of certain Palæolithic needles points to a possibility of their existence at least as early as the Magdalenian. The bark of trees and other vegetable substances are also used, and, as might be expected, probably led to a different form of clothing from that which developed from the skins, although a difference in the climate of the milieus where these two materials were employed makes any discussion of the influence exerted by the materials upon the technique extremely difficult (73).

The use of skins varies from that in vogue among the Fuegians, which could hardly be simpler, to the somewhat elaborate examples furnished by the Eskimo and North American Indians. The Fuegians apparently employed the skins without any preparation, but ordinarily they are subjected to some process to make them softer and more pliable, and insure

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(73) "The style and completeness of clothing", says Ratzel, v. i. p. 96, "naturally depends in a great measure upon the extent to which Nature or labour has provided the material. All countries are not so benevolently furnished in this respect as tropical Brazil where the 'Shirt-tree', a kind of *Lecythis,* grows with its pliant and easily stripped bark. The Indians cut up the stem into lengths of four or five feet, strip the bark off, soak and beat it soft, cut two armholes, and the shirt is ready. In the same forest grows a palm, the spathe of which provided a convenient cap without further preparation. The fig leaf of Paradise undergoes a thousand variations, and celebrates its revival by appearing in manifold forms, even to the universal rush cloak."

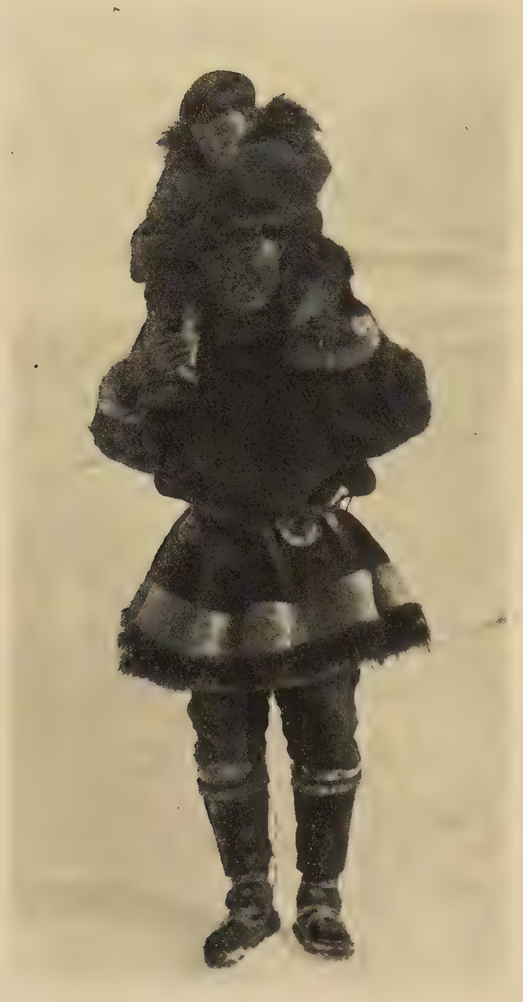

Fig 86.
Chuckchu Father and Child of Siberia. The cut and fit of the man's garments can hardly be distinguished from those used by Laplanders.
(Photo Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.).

durability before being used. Eskimo women chew the skins to such an extent that their teeth are worn down by the process, while among the Lapps and Siberian tribes, the method is somewhat more complicated. The skins are first subjected to a mechanical treatment in the form of scraping and rubbing with sharp-edged pieces of pebble or iron knives, when these can be obtained. They are then further softened with yolk of egg, animals' brains, and chewed reindeer liver, abundantly mixed with saliva. In order to accelerate the process of fermentation the greasy saliva-steeped skins are used as pillows and the temperature obtained in this way aids in dressing them.

The method commonly in use amongst the American Indians does not differ essentially from the above. The hides are first moistened and stretched out in the shade for several days, after being rubbed with a mixture of urine and clay. Then they are dried, scraped, rubbed with brains, rendered supple by manipulation and hung up to smoke, which latter process is apparently distinctly an Indian invention. The Hottentots render their hides soft and retentive of their hair by rubbing them repeatedly with grease and cow-dung, and beating them forcibly with knobkerries. When they wish to remove the hair, they sprinkle ashes on a fresh hide, and "sweat" it in the sun, a process similar to that employed by European tanners. The Bechuanas and Wahuma succeed in rendering skins as soft and flexible as glove leather simply by beating and scraping. And the Batoka have discovered the art of tanning with bark, which is somewhat of an exception among primitive peoples.

The use of bark as a material for clothing extends regionally from Polynesia to Africa ; it also occurs in America, and is thus almost universal within the tropics (74). In ancient times the bast, or inner bark of the lime, was in use among the Teutonic tribes. Ceremonially, it is employed by several peoples who no longer use it in their daily life. Among the Kayans of Borneo it is used for mourning garments, and the Laws of Manu prescribe its use by the religious Brahman wishing to devote his life to holy meditation. In Africa, during certain fetish-festivals, the natives display a similar sentiment, when they substitute skins for their usual clothing, and parallel usages by the ever-conservative priesthood may be observed in more than one locality.

The Polynesian *Tapa* forms an example of the development of which clothing made of bark is capable. Its use among the Polynesians places them among the better clothed races, who have passed through the stage where a mere bodily covering is worn, for the better examples display much that is luxurious as well

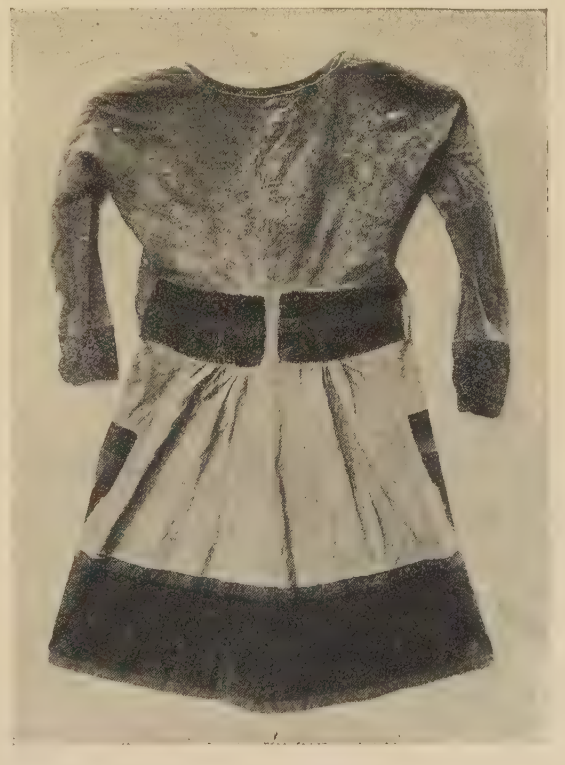

Fig. 87.
Samoyed Man's Summer Coat.
(Photo Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.).

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(74) See Strabo, lib. XI and XV. *Vestes ex arborum corticibus habentes* etc., and *amicunt se arborum corticibus* etc.

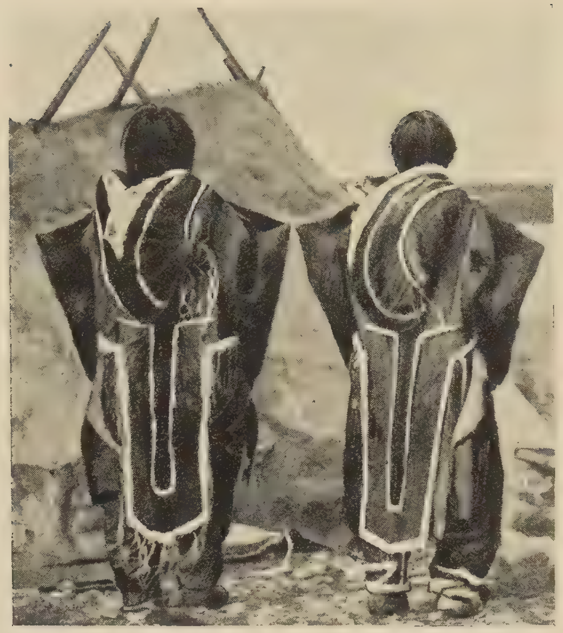

Fig. 88.
Eskimo Women.

as beautiful. An account of the manner in which this bark-cloth is prepared is given by Mariner (75): "A circular cut is made with a shell in the bark above the root of the tree: the tree is broken off, and in a few days when the stem is half dry, the bark and bast are separated from it. The bast is then cleaned and macerated in water, after which it is beaten with a ribbed club on a wooden block. This beating enlivens a village in Tonga as threshing does in Europe. In half an hour the piece will have changed from a strip almost to a square. The edges are snipped with shells, and a large number of the pieces are drawn separately over a semi-cylindrical wooden stamp, on which the pattern, worked in coco-fibre, is stretched and smeared with a fluid at once adhesive and colouring. On each a second and third layer is placed; and the piece, three layers thick, is coloured more strongly in the parts which are thrown into relief by the inequalities of the bed. Others are annexed to it both at the side and the end, until pieces a yard wide and 20 to 25 yards long are produced. For painting their *kapa* (as they call it) the Hawaiians used sticks broadened at the end, and carved

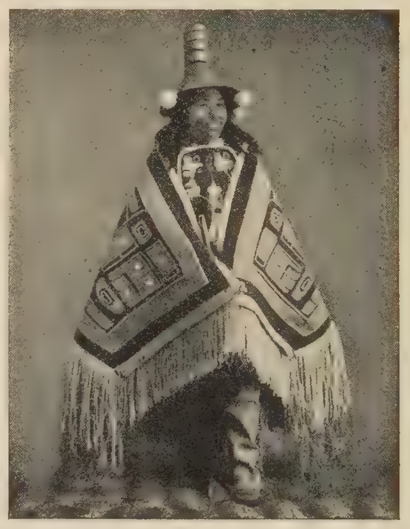

Fig. 89.
Kaw-Claa. Native Girl from Chilkat.
(Copyright, 1906, by Case and Draper).

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(75) William Mariner. *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands,* compiled... from the communications of, by John Martin (London, 1817).

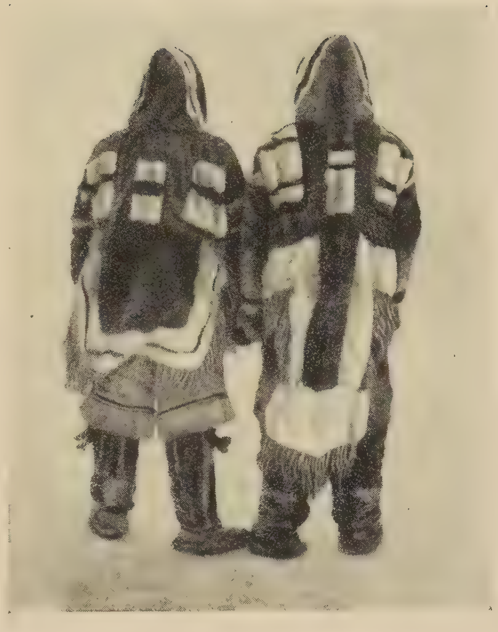

Fig. 90.

Eskimo Women.

with figures in relief, and drew lines on the stuff with a wooden comb". Ordinarily the colours are reddish brown, black or white. The patterns, which European contact unfortunately has done little to improve, are, with a few exceptions, rectilinear. Usually they have symbolic meanings. In the Solomon Isles *tapa* is made from the paper mulberry ; in New Guinea and New Hebrides the material is provided by the sacred fig-tree. The patterns are not printed, but the stuff is streaked with colour and moistened with the tongue or teeth. In Polynesia a skirt is worn girt about the waist and falling almost to the feet. In Tahiti the women wear a cloth, with an opening for the head in the middle and a skirt made of finer material. This upper garment is an interesting primitive form of tunic, opposed to the type made from skins which is usually manufactured from two skins sewn together, leaving the opening for the head. The Friendly Islands provided an even simpler example of dress. The skirt of the men, often very short, was twisted up, forming a big mass behind, that of the women fastened below the bosom. Capes were not worn. In the Society Islands a high development of clothing is accompanied by a significant symbolism. The war clothes are made up of three poncho-like mats, coloured white, red and brown, respectively, and put on one over the other. First a long white one, then a shorter one of red, and lastly a short brown one. If many clothes, completely enveloping the whole body, are worn, their signification is peaceful. In New Zealand a sort of tunic, fastened on the right shoulder in the case of men and the left in that of women and made of a single piece, suggested the tunic of the ancients which was similarly worn and fastened with the fibula (76). With the men this was belted, and from this belt the weapons, consisting of the *mere* and battle-axe, were suspended.

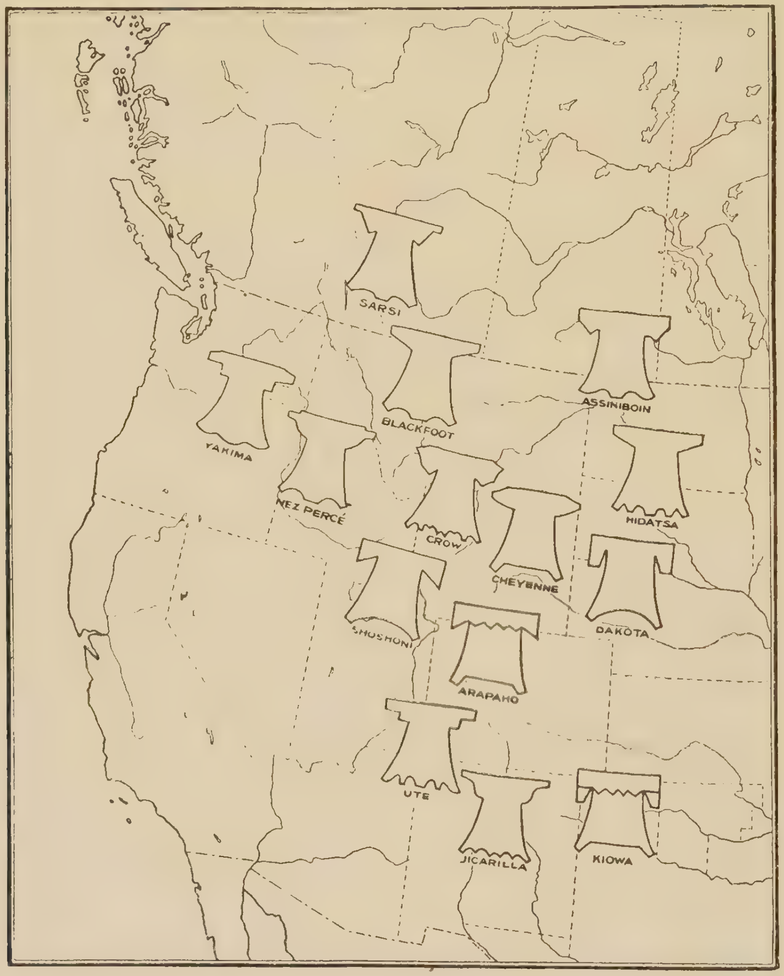

FIG. 91.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PLAINS INDIAN TYPE OF WOMAN'S DRESS. (After Whistler)

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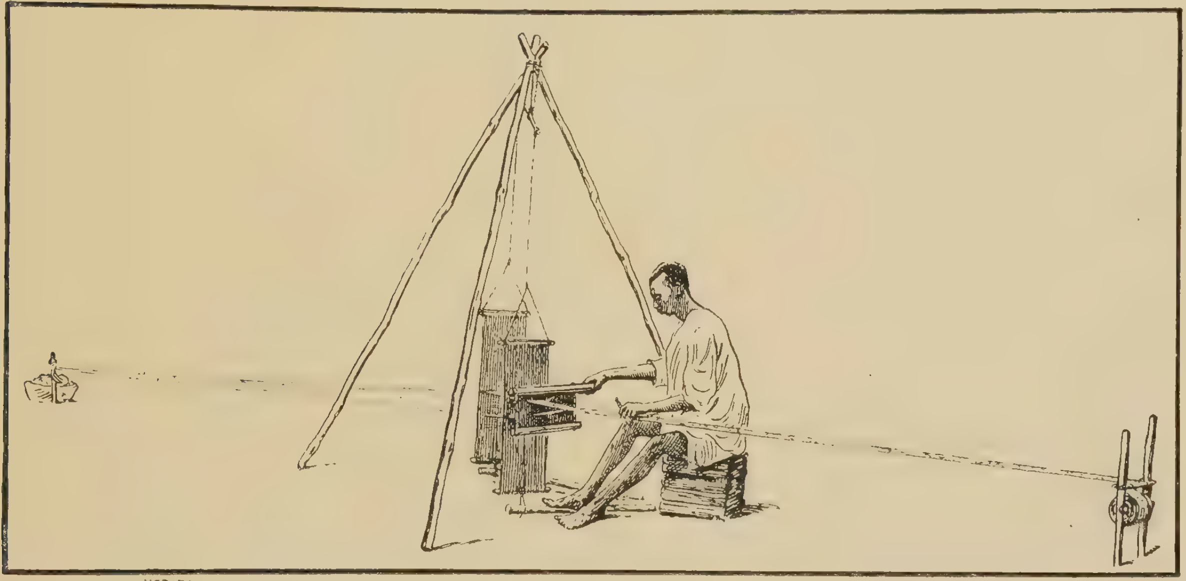
(76) Even in the most "strictly tailored" of modern garments, when the suit or overcoat of the woman resembles almost exactly that of the man, it is customary for the feminine form to button from the left to right while the masculine buttons from the right to left. No satisfactory explanation of this appears to have been found. It has been suggested that this allowed the fighting man to thrust his right arm under the garment to keep it warm. And Dr. Lyman of Baltimore submits the theory that the man would wish to leave his right hand free while the woman would grasp her attire with her right hand and push to the left, as children are usually carried on the left arm, and allowed to suck the left breast to a greater extent than the other.

Felting and weaving. — Felting, as a process for the manufacture of fabrics, is generally supposed to have preceded weaving, as the latter preceded spinning, and felt would thus be one of the oldest recognized fabrics. In middle and northern Asia, felt seems to have been employed from time immemorial, but its origins are lost in obscurity. It is little used by the "natural" races falling in with the classification of this chapter (77).



HORIZONTAL NARROW BAND LOOM—TRIPOD FORM

Fig. 92.

Loom with Tripod Frame from Sierra Leone, Africa.
(Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.).

Weaving, a short step from plaiting and basketry, is known to many primitives, and in some places carried to a remarkable degree of perfection. The possession of the knowledge of the manner in which true fabrics are created removes the most serious limitations in the manufacture of clothing, and allows for a free development of garment forms which can be cut from the more plentiful material thus provided. Gravitational clothing, which owes its beauty to the natural folds taken by the fabric, is dependent on weaving, and dignified forms are usually in evidence where there is a knowledge of this process.

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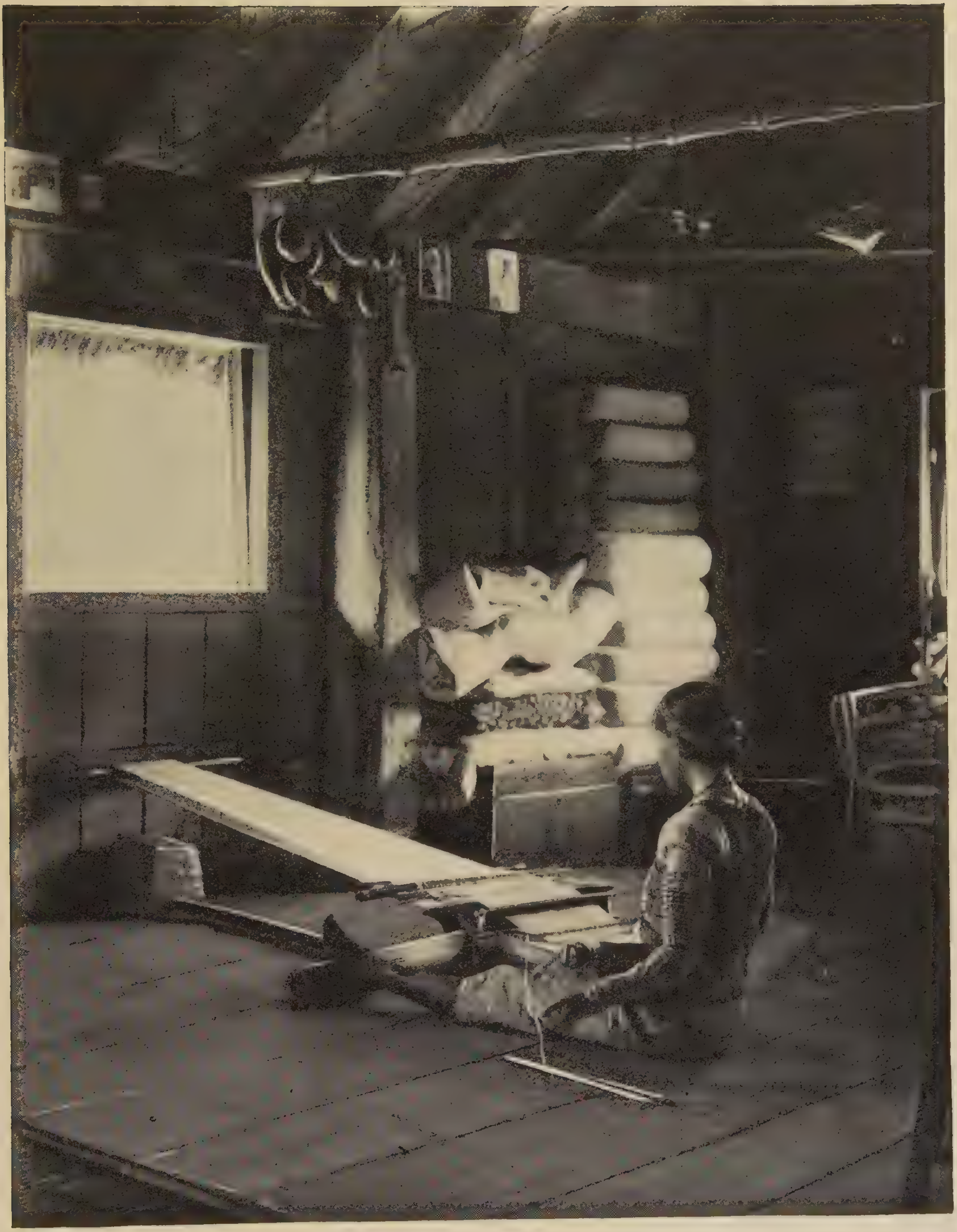
(77) The felt head covering, made from human hair, worn by the African Turkanas and Elgumas, is interesting as a possible forerunner to the felt hat so universally popular both in ancient and modern times.

Among the Botocudos and Otomacos, girdles of plaited leaves are sometimes worn, while the wicker girdle of the Orejones of Guiana shows a possible use to which basketry can be put even before it has evolved into fabric. Among the Mosquitos, bark cloth is so successfully made that it has, to a large extent, superseded the native cotton goods which required more time and pains in their preparation. The women's garment (*furquina*) covers the whole body from neck to knees, and is similar in form to the tunic.

That important and practical garment, the poncho, is of native South American origin, as specimens have been found in Peruvian graves which antedate the advent of Europeans. But it seems probable that the more primitive tribes who use it received it from their former civilized neighbours.

Plaiting, weaving, and the kindred arts have reached a high degree of development in Africa and, of all the negro industries, form the most astonishing achievement from a standpoint of the perfection of the technique displayed. The products thus obtained are used for divers sorts and descriptions of garments, varying from tiny aprons to the most complete covering. In Madagascar, the Hova loin cloth reached to the knees of the men and the feet of the women, thus being well on the way to developing into a conventional garment form, while similar instances of the evolution of clothing are too numerous and varied to mention.



Tinguian Woman Weaving. Northwestern Luzon, Philippines.
(Note the arm ornaments).

(Photo Field Museum, Chicago).

Pl. IX.

Clothing types. — Schweinfurth and Dr. C. H. Stratz have divided clothing into two main types, the Northern and Southern. These types are probably best exemplified by the clothing of Eskimo and Arab. The Northern type is assumed to have been influenced by the desire for protection, and is worn in the North of Europe. It consists of a close-fitting upper garment or jacket, and a tight pair of trousers or skirt, and may have been derived from the practice of tying skins about the person. Students of costume call the Northern close fitting type of clothing *anatomic* to distinguish it from the Southern loose and flowing type, which is called *gravitational,* because it takes its form from the natural fall of the fabrics of which it is composed. The Southern type is composed usually of two elements, a loose and wide-sleeved jacket and a loose and flowing skirt or pair of trousers, and

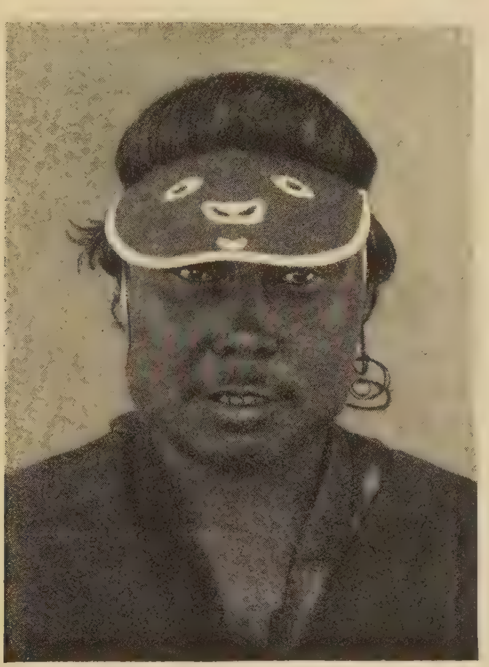


Fig. 93.
Eskimo Wearing Eye-Shade against Snow-Blindness.
(Photo Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.).

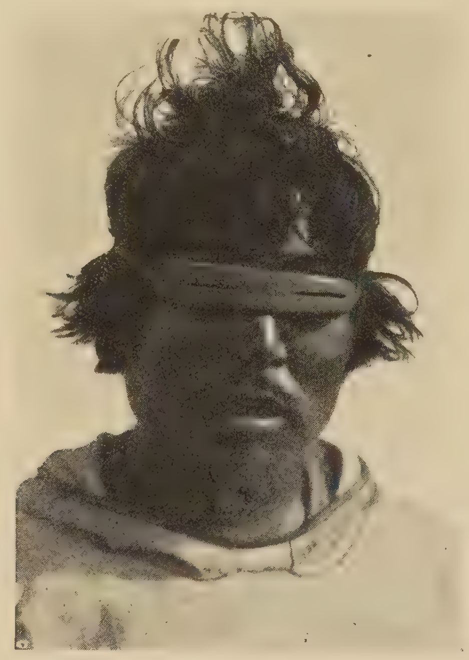


Fig. 94.
Mackenzie River Eskimo Wearing Wooden Snow-Goggles.
(Photo Francis Dickie).

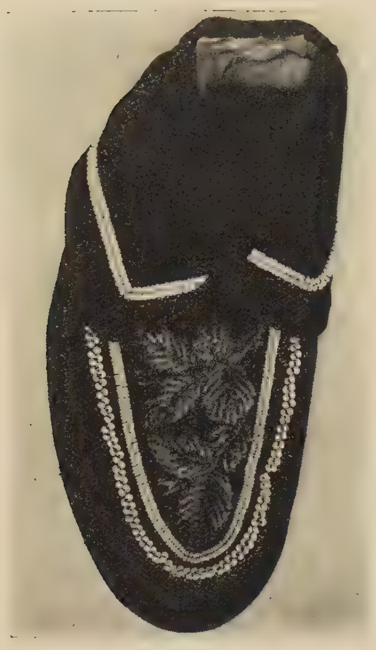


Fig. 95.
Caughnowaga Indian Beaded Mocassin.
(Heye Foundation).

is supposed to have developed from the ornamental girdle and necklace. There is an objection to this division because it is very possible that the trousers may also have developed from the girdle ; but the theory seems to hold good at least as far as historic times are concerned, and is both ingenious and convenient. With most northern races the trousers are worn by both sexes ; farther south their use is confined to the male portion of the population, while the gravitational form is worn universally in the warm southern latitudes.

The kilt is worn by mountaineers in more than one part of the world, and this fact is explained by the Encyclopædia Britannica as due "directly to environment, as the kilt is better suited than the trousers for walking over wet heather". While this explanation may apply to the Scotch, it must be accepted with more hesitation in the case of the Greek *Evzonoi,* for instance, or the Albanian mountaineers, from whom their costume was derived, even though a certain similarity of environment is admitted. It seems more probable that the wearing of kilts by Highlanders may be due to isolation and the resultant conservatism which allows of its survival. In any case it doubtless antedates the trousers as a garment form (78) and it seems probable that these were derived from it in a manner similar to that in which the coat may have been derived from the cape or cloak.

Some generalizations concerning primitives. — In primitive society it is the group which is the important unity, and whatever its form may be it completely submerges the individual. Consciousness of the group is sufficiently strong to produce such artistic manifestations as are exemplified by poetic legends, folk-music, in its most primitive form, and negro sculpture. Uniformity is the rule, and the exceptional rights accorded a chief by which he is allowed to wear some particular form of costume is a very real and living privilege indeed. This uniformity can usually be traced by a study of the costume worn at different stages of civilization, and it seems that it is also true that, generally speaking, the higher the stage of civilisation of a given period or locality, the more variety there is to be found in the costumes worn, and the greater liberty there is allowed to the individual by the group in this direction.

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(78) It should be noted that in its early development the kilt was not a separate garment, but was formed by the belting of the tunic.

Primitive aesthetics form the basis for all other aesthetics, and the style wave goes near to them each time it reaches the point opposite its apex. In spite of the many things we all have in common with primitive peoples, it is probable that their mind will never be thoroughly understood. Those who have lived longest in closest contact with them are the first to admit this fact.

Peschel's Law, that the amount of clothing worn varies inversely with

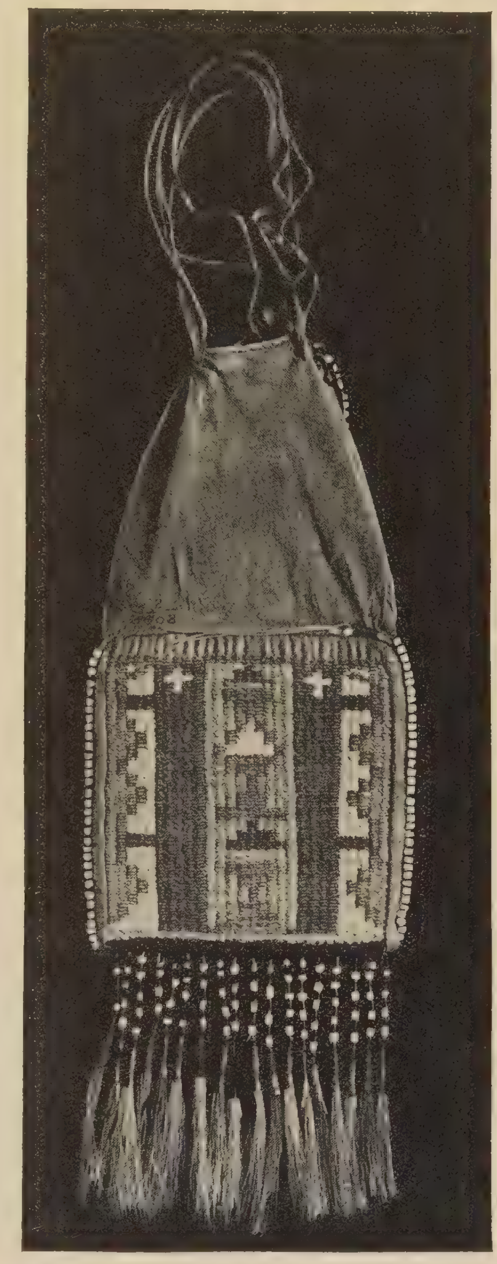

Fig. 96.
Iroquois Pouch with Moose-Hair Decoration.
(Photo Heye Foundation).

the amount of pigmentation of the skin, seems to hold good in a very general way, but there are many exceptions. The fact that in primitive society the number of men exceeds the number of women, is impossible of explanation at the present time. The very marked effect it has upon the relative dress of the sexes is characteristic (79). The accompanying factual tables, which are in the main adopted from those contained in Vol. I of Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology,* modified for purposes of the present subject, and corrected when necessary in the light of later researches, give a skeletal structure showing the general relation between clothing, ornament, and culture. The list makes no pretence of being complete in any way, but is merely in the form of a table giving some of the more typical manifestations following the stage of culture as it has existed in widely separated localities and among peoples displaying marked anthropological divergencies.

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(79) For an interesting discussion of this subject, based upon nourishment as a biological factor, see De Gourmont, *Physique de l'Amour,* chap. VII, p. 72 *et seq.*

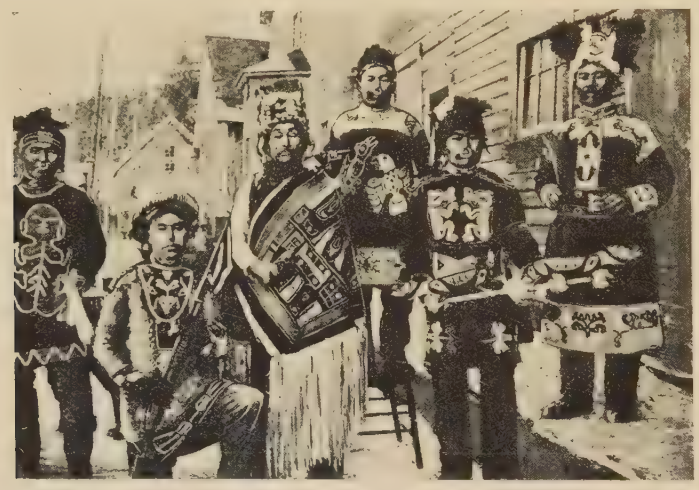

FIG. 97.

THINGLIT INDIANS IN DANCE COSTUME
(Photo Otto Haeckel).

TABLE I

TASMANIANS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

CLIMATE. — Temperate.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

VEGETAL. — Forest. — Few species yielding food or suitable for clothing.

ANIMAL. — As in Australia.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Men generally from 5 ft. 2 in. to 5 ft. 5 in. — Robust feet prehensile. — Hair black and woolly. Great depression at root of nose. Skin dull, gray black.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Isolated on large island. Peaceful in character.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Division of labour, only that between sexes. Men hunt and women drudge. Government only through influence of individuals capable of asserting because of physical or mental character and endowments. Old women arbiters.

ECCLESIASTICAL

"Mystery Men" professing to cure diseases.

CEREMONIAL

INITIATION. — Sacred stones given to men at initiation into manhood, as well as secret names.

Sacred dances in which women were forbidden to participate.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Little or no barter. Production confined to human labour.

BELIEFS

Future life resembling the present but divested of evils. Belief in malevolent spirits, etc. Belief and legends concerning the origin of demons.

ORNAMENT

Mutilation :

Scars on arms, breast, etc., serving as tribal marks. Heads of women shaved except a narrow circle. Depilation for women. Circumcision proper and loss of two front teeth not practised. In mourning women lacerated their bodies, burnt their thighs and cut off their hair.

ADORNMENT

Faces blacked, bodies besmeared with grease, clay and red ochre. Anklets, bracelets, and girdles of bushy twigs. Necklaces of cord or shells or kangaroo's sinews. Flowers and feathers in hair on festive occasions.

AESTHETIC

Rude drawings of men, women, animals, boats, squares, circles, etc. Dancing and singing, legends.

CLOTHING

Generally wanting. Sometimes skins of kangaroo and opossum thrown over shoulder, or used in this way as pouch to carry babies by women. Men wore a girdle of kangaroo's sinews or plaited rushes. Foot covering (lacking among Australians) worn for journeys.

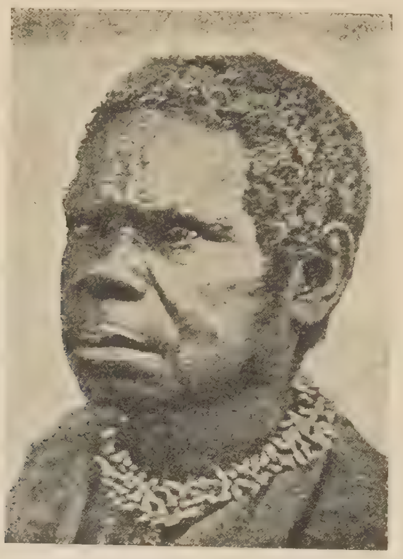

Fig. 98.

Tasmanian, Showing Shell Collar.
(After H. Ling Roth).

TABLE II

ANDAMANS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

CLIMATE. — Hot, dry, and healthy.

SURFACE. — Fertile islands, only the littoral inhabited.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

VEGETAL. — Dense, suitable for building but little suitable for clothing.

ANIMAL. — Considerable fit for food. None used for clothing.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Average height. —Men 4 ft. 10 in. — 5 ft. 10 in. Skin black. Hair woolly, varying from black to dark and light brown and red. Nose flat.

MORALS

Indiscriminate intercourse between sexes before marriage (between the father and children being the only exception). After marriage the woman must be faithful while the man has the same liberty as before. Utterly destitute of any sense of indecency in sexual intercourse.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

No adjacent foreign races. Ill-used by the Malays. Adjacent tribes of the same race, partially separated by natural barriers in a state of chronic mutual hostility.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Only that between the sexes. Men hunt and fish and make implements. Women fish and gather shell-fish, domestic, make baskets, twine and paddles, and perform all shaving operations.

Organization, that of migratory tribes averaging thirty to fifty individuals having each its own chief and district. Chief is slightly distinguished by habitation and clothing.

ECCLESIASTICAL

Mystery and medicine men.

CEREMONIAL

FUNERARY :

A crouching burial similar to that used by some prehistoric peoples. Two or three months after burial, the bones are dug up, cleaned and painted, and divided among the relations, who generally carry them about with them on their wanderings, for utility and adornment.

The marriage is apparently a kind of monogamy, apparently the man only stays with the woman until the child is born and weaned, and then seeks another wife.

AESTHETICS

Fond of music and simple dancing.

SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

No notion of future state. No Supreme Being. No tradition or notion of their origin.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Elementary barter.

ORNAMENT

Mutilation :

Tattoo. Scarification in the South, superficial, performed by women. Not unlike tattooing without colouring matter. In North men cut deep lines with pig arrows across the body. Women shave head completely. Men shave head in fantastic patterns. All hair shaven from body, except eyelashes and upper lips.

ADORNMENT

Yellow and red ochre mixed with grease are coarsely smeared over the body, grey in coarse patterns and white in fine patterns resembling tattoo marks. Body is painted in red stripes for wedding. A few rudely contrasted ornaments. Bracelets and anklets of bark cord, the former partially for protection when shooting.

CLOTHING

Clothing wanting with the exception of a girdle, and among women a leaf and a bunch of bark behind (1). The body is covered with a paste of earth and oil (separately from the ceremonial, symbolic or decorative painting) as a protection against insects. Sew a few leaves together to protect infants from the rain. Very dirty.

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(1) The women for a very long while wore this arrangement under their European clothing, after this had been introduced.

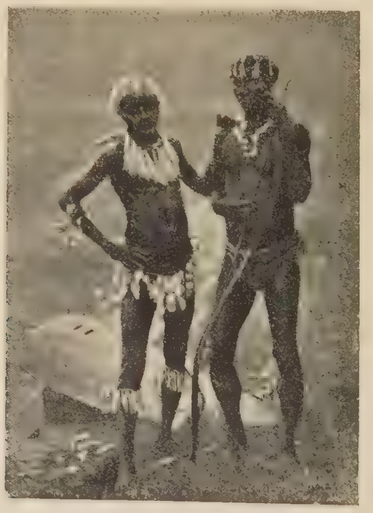


Fig. 99.

Andaman Islanders

TABLE III

VEDDAHS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

CLIMATE. — Hot and moist.

SURFACE. — Mountainous, well watered and fertile. Useful metals quite plentiful, precious stones.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

VEGETAL. — Luxuriant tropical vegetation.

ANIMAL. — Similar to that of India, but no tigers or hyenas.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Singhalese aggressive and cruel in policy, adjacent tribes of Veddahs have little intercourse.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Average height of men 4 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. Women 4 ft. 4 in. to 4 ft. 8 in. Hair straight but shaggy rather than lank. Colour of skin varying from dark brown to black. Noses flat.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

No division of labour except that between the sexes. Men hunt, women drudge. Chiefs and elders with limited power. Family typical unit.

ECCLESIASTICAL

None.

CEREMONIAL

FUNERARY :

Body left unburied where died, covered with a few leaves or stones.

MARITAL

Sole ceremony consists in bride tying bark rope around waist of bridegroom. Remarkable conjugal felicity.

AESTHETICS

Rude dancing and shouting (?).

SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

Vague notions of future life. Spirits and demons, both good and malevolent. Trace their descent from a royal race, some members of which married their sisters.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Barter for cloth, hatchets, arrow heads, flesh cooking utensils, etc. Formerly bartering transactions took place in the night without contracting parties meeting.

ORNAMENT

MUTILATIONS

Pierce ears.

ORNAMENT

Women wear ivory earrings, brass bead necklaces and shell bangles.

CLOTHING

Both sexes a small piece of cloth suspended by a string worn around the waist. That of the Village Veddahs being somewhat larger than that of the Jungle Veddahs.

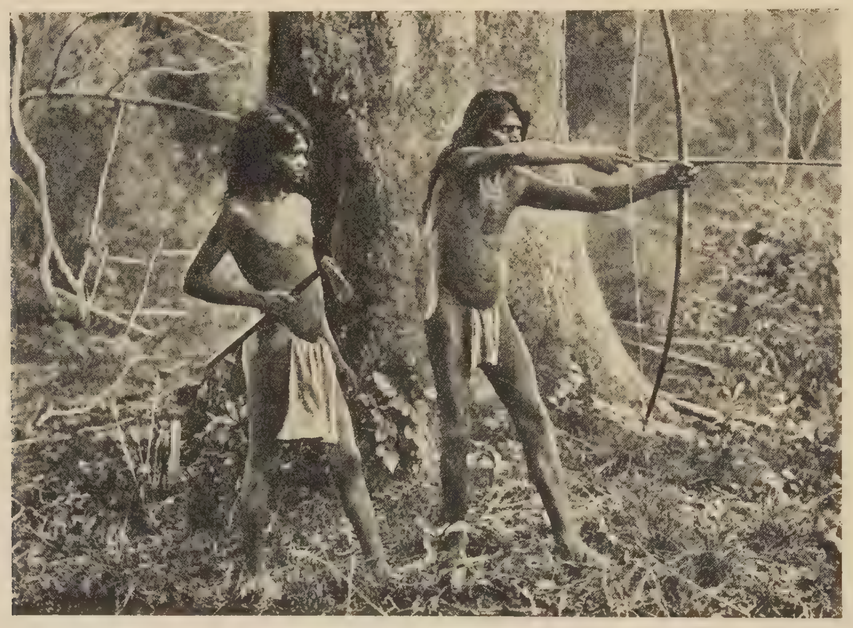


FIG. 100.

VEDDAHS

(From *Peoples of All Nations*).

TABLE IV

FUEGIANS

Climate. — Cold and cloudy. Temperature probably never above 50° Fahr.

Surface. — A broken mass of wild rocks and useless undergrowth, only habitable along the shore. Communication difficult if not impossible.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Vegetal. — Very few plants yielding food or suitable for clothing. Two or three species growing to the exclusion of all others.

Animal. — Scanty. Guanacoes, ostriches and other birds in some districts. Seals, fish and shell fish.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Physical characters. — Low in stature and badly proportioned, trunk of body large in proportion to cramped and crooked limbs. Skin "copper" colour varying. Adjacent foreign race (Patagonians) separated by partial barriers, uncivilized, generally peaceful. Adjacent tribes of same race partially separated. State of continual mutual hostility.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Marked division of labour between the sexes and incipient division of labour in the chase amongst men. Men engage in hunting and warfare, women in domestic drudgery.

No industrial government except the control of the Elders of the tribe or "mystery men".

Live in families or tribes comprising in all from twenty to forty persons apparently on a footing of perfect equality.

ECCLESIASTICAL

"Mystery Men" having great influence. Only religious class. Treat diseases.

CEREMONIAL

Funerary :

Body wrapped in skins carried some distance into bush, placed on broken boughs and covered with branches. Caves sometimes used as graves in the West. Black the mourning colour.

LAWS OF INTERCOURSE

Signs of friendship, embracing, etc., use of colour red. Sign of hostility use of colour white.

AESTHETICS

Hardly exist apart from the primary feelings to which objects and acts appeal. Shown almost exclusively in personal adornment. Are very dirty. Show fondness for music which however is seldom practised.

MORALS

Incongruous and variable. Women apparently modest.

SUPERSTITIONS

Belief in the powers of sorcery, omens and dreams. Refrain from mentioning the dead, but this seems only evidence of belief in future life. Have notion of malevolent "Big Black Man" who influences weather. The Chonos trace their descent from western nations across the sea.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

EXCHANGE :

Tribes near the Straits of Magellan trade pyrites, etc., to Patagonians, in exchange for dogs, meat and old mantles. Other tribes seem to have been unacquainted with barter. Production confined to human labour.

ORNAMENT

Body smeared with grease and red, black or white pigment, generally in vertical or transverse bars. Fillets around head ornamented with white down or feathers. Necklaces and bracelets of shells and bird bones ; or beads, buttons, or broken glass or crockery when procurable.

CLOTHING

In some districts wanting. In others only a small piece of seal or otter skin, sufficient to cover one shoulder and shifted according to the direction of the wind. In still other districts skin cloaks, covering the greater part of the body. Girdles with a small apron hanging in front.

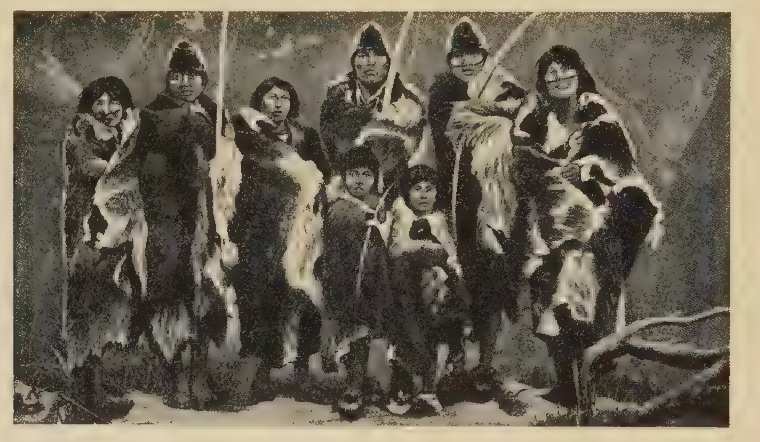


FIG. 101.

GROUP OF ONA INDIANS ARMED FOR THE CHASE
CLAD IN THE HEAVY FURS OF WINTER
(From *Peoples of All Nations*).

TABLE V

BUSHMEN

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

CLIMATE. — Hot and dry, though with the variable temperature existing in deserts. Colder to the South.

SURFACE. — The Bushmen have been driven by European, Kaffir and other encroachments into the most barren and inhospitable regions of South Africa. The Kalahari Desert is undulating, with frequent outcroppings of limestone and shale. Dried up river beds, etc.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

VEGETAL. — Tough, sun bleached grass, occasional patches of forest and dense scrub. Tuberous and herbaceous plants.

ANIMAL. — Lion, leopard, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, buffalo, zebra, quagga, many kinds of antelope, baboon and ostrich.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS. — Stature short, but some measurements give nearly average height of Europeans. Hair black growing in pellet like tufts. Colour of skin a dirty yellow. Pronounced steatopygy.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

There is a marked division of labour between the sexes, but this is the only one. The men hunt, the women drudge. There is little or no tribal organization or professional ecclesiastical class. Occasionally several families will get together and elect an individual to serve as chieftain, but this is always a temporary arrangement.

CEREMONIAL

FUNERARY :

The dead are buried facing the East, and the graves covered with stones.

AESTHETICS

The Bushmen make surprising drawings in red, yellow, white and black, which resemble certain prehistoric cave drawings. They have a rude musical instrument made of a gourd, with one or two strings. Are fond of singing, dancing and ornaments.

SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

Remarkable collection of folk-lore and legends. Believe in evil spirits but apparently have no conception of a Supreme Being. Some evidence of totemism. Amulet universally used.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Surrounded by enemy tribes with whom little or no exchange is carried on. Unimportant barter amongst themselves. Beads a regular article of commerce.

ORNAMENT

MUTILATIONS :

Cutting off of fingers as a sign of mourning or repentance.

ADORNMENT

Beads made from fragments of ostrich egg shell and pieces of dark leather. Women sprinkle head and neck with green powder made from copper ore, glittering scales of mica and threads of asbestos after dressing it with a red ochre pomade. Men paint themselves with red, yellow or black, in various designs, chevrons, diagonal bands, zebra-like stripes, etc., similarly to the Australians. Anklets with leather and pebble rattles for dancing, also large ball-shaped rattles attached to the shoulders. Feathers and hares' tails in the hair ; teeth, hoofs and horns on the neck and arms. Tobacco box of shell of the land tortoise. Amulets on neck and waist.

CLOTHING

Incomplete as compared with the severity of the climate in some localities. Men, a triangular bit of skin passed between the legs and fastened round the waist. Some garments, as the appendage known as the jackal's tail, worn behind, apparently adopted from the Hottentots. Woman's apron made of threads or strings of beads sometimes hung to feet. *Kaross* of springbok's fur cut and ornamented in different fashions worn over the shoulder and used at night as a blanket. Skin or fur caps worn by the men and occasionally by the women, usually helmet or fez-shaped. Light leather shoes or sandals when on the march. Clever hunting disguises, worn when hunting to simulate inanimate objects or game, e. g. ostrich disguise used for hunting ostriches.

NOTE

MOST PHOTOGRAPHS OF BUSHMEN SUITABLE FOR REPRODUCTION AT THE PRESENT TIME SHOW THEM AS WEARING CAST-OFF OVERALLS OR SOMETHING SIMILAR, MAKING THEM OF QUESTIONABLE VALUE IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESENT TABLE.

TABLE VI

ESKIMO

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

CLIMATE. — Arctic.

SURFACE. — Covered with snow the greater part of the year. Usually only habitable along the coast because of food supply.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

VEGETAL. — Few plants yielding food during the short summer season. None suitable for clothing.

ANIMAL. — The seal, reindeer, bear and fox most important for clothing. Other arctic animals, whale, walrus, etc. Fish important in food supply.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Stature short, from 5 ft. 4 in. to 5 ft. 5 in. in men. Face oval, forehead retreating, eyes obliquely set, head largish, hair coarse, black and straight. Beard sparse. Skin slightly brown when cleaned of dirt and grease.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Adjacent Indian tribes, very little contact, but where this has occurred usually hostile. Adjacent tribes of same race peaceful.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Usual division of labour between the sexes. No political or military rulers. Some influence exercised by strongest men and best hunters.

ECCLESIASTICAL

The "angakok" or medicine man. Influence limited.

CEREMONIAL

SUPERSTITIONS :

Religion a vague animism with good and evil spirits. Childish faith in sorcery.

MORALS :

Of women very loose, little or no modesty.

AESTHETICS

Taste for music and drawing, talented carvers in ivory, fond of ornament. Considerable legends.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Keen traders, trading skins and other local products for useful implements and ornaments.

ORNAMENT

MUTILATIONS :

Tattooing. Labrets in the form of cheek and lip plugs. Tattooing almost universal among women and was formerly practised by the men. The face is usually tattooed in lines on the chin, nose and cheeks, the designs often being in the form of tribal marks. Depilation of beard usual among the men. Rings, quills, beads and plugs inserted in the nose by some tribes. Ears sometimes pierced in several places. Head deformation practised by some tribes.

ADORNMENT

Leather rings worn by the Chukchi, around arm and legs, have a mysterious significance, and may, like vestigial tattooing on the body, point to an origin in warmer climate. Most adornment must be attached to clothing, of which it forms a part. Dressing of hair usually simple, varies somewhat with tribes. False hair sometimes worn and beads and other ornaments used.

CLOTHING

Clothing universal and complete. Excellently adapted to climate. Trousers worn tighter by the men than by the women. Boots usually fitting tightly to prevent water from entering. A kind of shirt reaching sometimes to the knees (among the South Greenlanders to the waist). Trousers and boots sometimes made in one piece. Stockings of leather, woven grass and salmon skin. Jacket or tunic, often without collar. In Greenland jacket provided with hood. With the women they have a deep pouch behind for carrying baby. Luxurious bead decorations and patterns formed by the arrangement of furs of different colours are employed as decoration of clothing, that of the women being usually more elaborate than that of the men. In the under garments, the hair is usually worn on the inside. Overalls of seal entrails form waterproof garments as efficient as the best oil-skins and much lighter. Seal-skins are preferred when at sea, because of their water resisting qualities. Bird skins are much used. As a rule all unnecessary apertures are avoided, the garments usually being put on over the head. The cut varies in different localities. The women's dress often has appendages before and behind similar in form to the tails of a dress coat. The workmanship in the manufacture of garments, with bone needles and reinder or other sinew, is excellent. The sinew is usually made from the split tendons of the dorsal muscle. Shoes with ingeniously made soles are used for walking on ice. Fur gloves and mittens are also worn. Cleverly made goggles (1) are used for protection of the eyes from the blinding light which is reflected from the snow. Clothing is only employed when out of doors, complete nakedness being the rule when inside the hut. Indian clothing shows a marked Eskimo influence which appears to extend south as far as Mexico.

(1) A small opaque disc which is provided with a narrow slit, allows the wearer to see, yet as it permits but a small proportion of the light to enter, effectively protects the eyes.

TABLE VII

MOI

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

CLIMATE. — Hot during daytime, cold at night with marked variation of temperature. Dry and rainy seasons.

SURFACE. — Mountainous, wooded, rich in minerals, copper, gold, iron, etc.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

VEGETAL. — Hard wood forest. Beans, gourds and rice. Textile plants and plants yielding dye-stuffs.

ANIMALS. — Elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, deer, antelope, etc. Domestic poultry and pig.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Intertribal wars for slaves. Little relation with surrounding Chinese and Annamites, who attack them to procure slaves.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

Uniform physical type, stature small, head long, eyes differ from those of Chinese and Annamites and are like those of Europeans. Nose prominent and curved. Wide face, chin receding, hair straight or wavy. Colour brown shading towards reddish.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

No chief, strong communal spirit. Council of Elders has great influence.

ECCLESIASTICAL

Sorcerers of both sexes, who are also doctors.

CEREMONIAL

FUNERARY :

Different modes of burial. Certain tribes have regular tombs or tumuli where the bodies are placed with their personal possessions, which are first broken (or imitations of these possessions).

AESTHETICS

Little aesthetic sense.

MORALS

Chaste before marriage. Women modest.

SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

Cults of the spirits of the dead and of natural forces. Belief in evil spirits.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

EXCHANGE :

Barter intertribal slaves, sold to the Chinese. Weave and print silk and cotton cloth. Certain tribes specialize in metal working.

ORNAMENT

MUTILATIONS :

Cylinders of wood, bone or tin rings in the ear lobe, which are often distended so that they hang to the shoulders. Some tribes file teeth.

Necklaces of beads, shells, copper rings. Armlets and leg ornaments of copper wire, sometimes in the form of spirals covering entire leg.

CLOTHING

"Langouti" a sort of tight breech clout. Women a short cotton skirt or kilt, coming half way to the knees. Rough shawl or cloak with fringe in some tribes

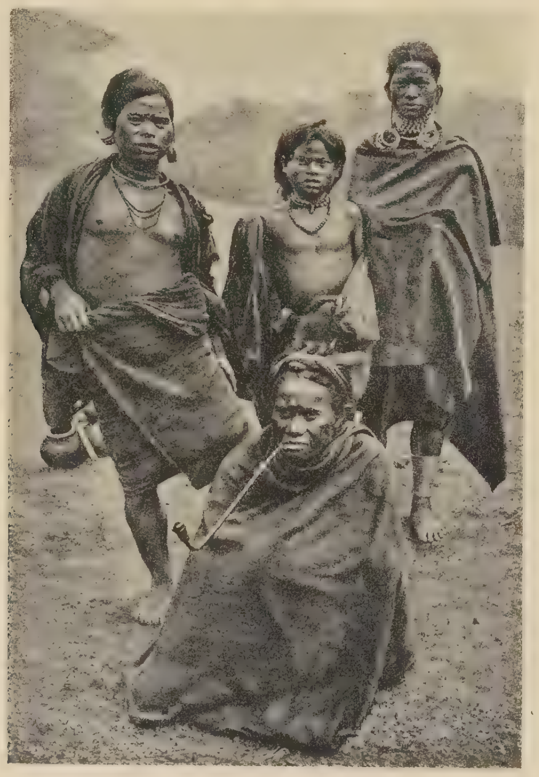


FIG. 102.

MOI TRIBESMEN OF THE LANGBIAN RANCHES

(From *Peoples of All Nations*).

TABLE VIII

NEW CALEDONIANS, etc.

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Hot climate. New Caledonia is a volcanic island 200 miles by 25 to 50. Central mountains attaining height of 8,000 feet in some places. Coral reefs. Not productive except in valleys. Tauna. Area about 40 by 55 miles, very fertile.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Vegetal. — Abundant coconut and other food plants, not especially fitted for clothing.

Animal. — Land animals fit for food or clothing scarce. Fish plentiful.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Resembling the Fijians. Dark skin, small thin limbed body, hair black, short and woolly, projecting jaws, rounded narrow retreating forehead, long and narrow head and enormous eyebrow ridges.

The Tannese, generally short stature but athletic. Skin the colour of an old copper coin. Hair light brown or black and less woolly. Eyes chocolate colour. Nose rather flat.

The Vateans display characteristics more resembling the Polynesians, taller and with more regular features and even lighter skins. There is nowhere a real dividing line between the sub-Papuan and Polynesian types on the island of New Caledonia. Many New Caledonians have black skins and woolly hair, combined with the Polynesian superiority of limb, but the Polynesian type is generally found among the chiefs and their kindred.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Adjacent foreign peoples, Polynesians, separated by partial barriers, the sea. Partially civilized and many of them warlike. The tribes on the island are constantly at war.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

There is no division of labour except that between the sexes. Men fighting ; women do most of the plantation work, make earthen jars, cook, etc. There is a partial local division of labour in the New Hebrides, certain of the islands being famous for wood for clubs, others for stones for axes, others for weapons, etc. This gives rise to a considerable commerce.

Petty village chiefs have absolute power of life and death over their subjects. The rank and power of the Tannese chiefs is more limited.

Military service is not separate but coextensive with the male population.

ECCLESIASTICAL

"Sacred Men" for disease, rain, thunder, etc. The Tannese have a public orator in every village. In New Caledonia the priesthood is separate from the political organization, while among the Tannese it is not. The Mallicollese have temples containing idols dressed as men in every village.

CEREMONIAL

FUNERARY :

In New Caledonia the body is dressed with a belt and shell armlets, the nails are removed to be preserved as relics. The body is buried with the head exposed above ground, and it is twisted off after about ten days and the skull and teeth preserved as relics. Weapons are laid on the graves of chiefs.

The expressions of grief are weeping and wailing, cutting off the hair of the head, and painting the face black. (The natives of the Isle of Pines paint their faces white).

The Tannese wrap the body in native cloth and paint the face red. The Vateans kill several men for a cannibal feast on the death of a chief.

SUPERSTITIONS

New Caledonians — Spirit of the departed supposed to go to the bush. Dancing at which masks are employed held every fifth month when they are supposed to be present. The Tannese think that death is caused by some one of the tribe employing witchcraft. "Dead Man" is the common name for God. There are traditions similar to those existing in other parts of Polynesia respecting the origin of the world and man.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Barter, distribution external only. Commerce between the different islands of a group.

ORNAMENT

MUTILATIONS :

Circumcision (principally the sons of chiefs and persons of distinction). Punctured ridges. Tannese also pierce the nose and the ears, burn or cut the representation of leaf or fish on the breast, etc. The Eromagan women tattoo each other about the face in rude devices of leaves and flowers.

ADORNMENT

Flowers are used by some for personal decoration. Natives of the New Hebrides are excessively dirty.

New Caledonians — body painted black, shell earrings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, flower garlands. (Dance vocal music, traditional oral literature).

Tannese — faces daubed with red, black or white. Men have special coiffure, stick or stone in nose, earrings of whale's teeth or shells, rudely carved armlets.

Vateans — handsome bracelets of shells, diamond patterns of red, white and black on mats.

New Caledonians — men generally destitute, except a piece of bark or a few leaves in front. Cylindrical caps. Women, when married, a fringe around the waist made of the filaments of the plantain tree and about nine inches deep. Tannese — Men a girdle about an inch deep with a bundle of matting in front. Women, fringes reaching from the waist to below the knee.

Vateans — belt for both sexes rather broader than that worn by the male Tannese. Women have a tail piece made of grass or matting.

TABLE IX

NIAM NIAMS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Climate. — Hot and damp.

Surface. — Equatorial forest, interspersed with clearings, where agriculture is carried on.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Vegetal. — Numerous food plants as maize, manioc, yams, etc. Sufficient plants which might be used for clothing.

Animal. — Leopard, elephant, buffalo, antelope, gazelle, dog, equatorial fauna, poultry (domestic). Numerous tropical birds, numerous fish.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Soudan Arabs to the North, partial natural barriers, commercial relations. Nubians, Somalis and Negro tribes to the south and south east. In state of mutual hostility with the latter.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

Round headed, medium height, well built, eyes almond shaped and oblique, lips thick, nose flat, colour ruddy brown or chocolate, scarcely ever black, occasionally bronze or even olive.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Division chiefs who decide for peace or war, act as executioners and choose wives for the people. Their functions are limited to this.

Classes confined to

(1) Freemen
(2) Slaves

ECCLESIASTICAL

Sorcerers and diviners.

CEREMONIAL

Funerary :

Corpse dressed in feather head dress, painted red with colour extracted from wood, wrapped in robe of skins and buried, care being taken that the earth does not touch the body. Signs of mourning : cutting of hair.

AESTHETICS

Well developed music and dance. Numerous musical instruments, geometric designs, intricate wood carvings, often veritable works of art.

MORALS

Women chaste and modest before marriage. Conjugal fidelity.

SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

Belief in magic. Sorcerers and diviners who prophesy according to natural augurs, etc. No definite idea on future state.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Exchange :

Important commerce in ivory and slaves in exchange for beads, iron and copper and cotton. Iron and copper rings, worn as ornaments, serve as medium of exchange. Iron more valued than copper.

ORNAMENT

Mutilation :

Filing of teeth. Tattooing in form of tribal mark on face and an X shaped figure in cartouche below chest and various zig-zags and dotted lines on upper arm and breast.

ADORNMENT

Paint the body black with juice of gardenia fruit yielding black stain. Necklaces of animal and human teeth and blue glass beads which they esteem more highly than cowries or ornaments of warm colour. Metal bracelets of iron and copper.

Coiffure :

Men spend hours upon coiffure of extremely elaborate construction, which is surmounted with plumes. Hair pins of bone and hatpins of metal, and a straw hat of ornamental nature. Women cut hair, have simple coiffure and no hats. Chief has right to wear a band of leopard skin around head.

CLOTHING

Ordinarily a skin worn around loins, rarely a piece of bark cloth. Leopard skin reserved to chief.

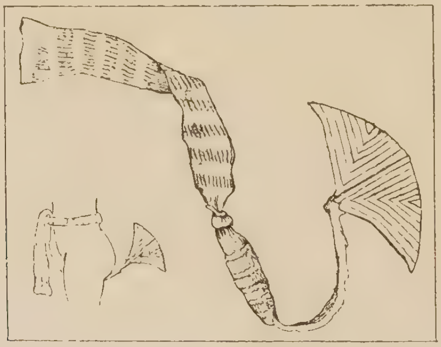


Fig. 103.

Manner of wearing tail amongst the Niam-Niam. (After Lejean).

TABLE X

NEW GUINEA PEOPLE

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Climate. — Very hot, great variations in temperature during 24 hours, from 95° F. in the day to 75° F. at night. Rainy season lasts about half the year.

Surface. — Less than 200,000 sq. miles ; along the south west shore many coral banks. Lime and sandstone predominate near the coast. Interior little known.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Vegetal. — Luxuriant, yams, coconut, sugar cane, bananas, etc. Dense tropical forest.

Animal. — No large animals except the hog ; marsupials, no ferocious animals. Birds : parrots, pigeons, birds of paradise. Birds of prey rare. Reptiles, abundant fish, pigs and dogs.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Stature about that of the average European. Skin between black and dusky brown. Hair harsh, dry and frizzly, growing in little tufts or curls. Face elongated, nose and mouth large, lips thick and protuberant. Great difference in size and considerable in the appearance of people of different tribes. Agility, springing from branch to branch like monkeys.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Adjacent foreign races : Malays and natives of surrounding islands, some of them partially civilized and visiting New Guinea for trading purposes (vegetable products and slaves). Native population divided into small independent and hostile tribes. Marked division and constant war between coastal tribes and those of the interior (mountaineers).

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Divisions of ranks ill established. Where they exist they consist apparently of :

(1) Chiefs ;
(2) Common people ;
(3) Slaves (obtained in war or trade).

A certain suzerainty was claimed over the Dorians by the Sultan of Tidore. Village chiefs and elders form the legislative and administrative council.

The division of labour is that between the sexes. Men taking a fair share of general labour. Women, in some tribes at least, build the houses. Amongst the Dorians the men hunt, fish and make canoes, the women engage in agricultural and domestic pursuits.

Military not separate from civil, co-extensive with adult male population. No evidence of military organization.

ECCLESIASTICAL

Offices of priest, doctor and soothsayer held by the same person amongst the Dorians. The religion of some coast tribes shows apparently foreign influence, temples, idols, obscene representations, etc. In the interior the "Sorcerers" have power of life and death in times of tribal crisis.

CEREMONIAL

FUNERARY :

Body deposited in grave with a porcelain dish under the ear. Arms and ornaments are placed in grave which is covered with a roof of "atap". Some tribes practise cave burial.

BELIEFS

Some evidence of belief in a Supreme Being, although it is doubtful that this belief exists among tribes of the interior. The Dorians are exceedingly superstitious, with great faith in idols and charms.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

There is apparently a distinct native distributing agency. Periodical visits have been made by Ceram traders for years. On the western coast slaves form an imaginary standard of value. Masooi bark, trepang, tortoise shell, pearls, birds of paradise, crown pigeons, vegetable products, slaves, etc., bartered for beads, cloth, rice, hatchets, etc.

ORNAMENT

MUTILATIONS :

Raised scars on the shoulders, breasts and thighs. Tattooing. Septum of the nose pierced. Teeth filed to points.

ADORNMENT

Dye the hair a light flaxen tinge, blacken the teeth. Fond of strong scented plants and sometimes put flowers in the hair. Body painted black, red, yellow and white. Beautiful designs in tattooing : stripes, zigzags and network. Well developed sense of design also demonstrated in handsomely carved and painted canoes. Combs. Leaf, bone or stick in nose. Earrings of plaited rattan, shells, woven rushes, hog's teeth, fish bones, feathers and flowers. Petticoats dyed red and green with stripes of straw colour or white. Elaborate and beautiful head dresses of feathers worn by some tribes. Certain married women in the interior wear net covering head and face after marriage.

CLOTHING

Men sometimes naked, generally a girdle made of bark, bamboo, coconut cloth passing between the legs. Women petticoats of pandanus leaf, divided into long grass-like shreds reaching to the knee. Sometimes several of these are worn one above the other ; in cool weather one is fastened round the neck. Some tribes plaster the body with sand and mud.

TABLE XI

FIJIANS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

CLIMATE. — Temperate varying from 62° to 120° F. Weather side of islands wet. Leeward side remarkably dry. Rainy season on both sides.

SURFACE. — Some 200 islands, 65 being inhabited. Volcanic, mountainous or hilly. Beautiful scenery. Weather side exuberantly fertile, leeward comparatively burnt and barren.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

VEGETAL. — Luxuriant, useful for food and clothing. Bread-fruit, banana, coconut, cotton tree, rattan palms, etc.

ANIMAL. — Few mammals, dog, pig, rat, and cetacean. Birds more numerous, many fish and insects. Land shells, some of them peculiar to Fiji.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

Above middle height, great variety of figure. Chiefs tall, well made and muscular. Lower orders inferior, ill fed and overworked. Colour between black and copper. Hair dark, curly or bushy, face long. Eyes black, nose well formed, mouth large, teeth good. Active but less graceful than Malays or Polynesians.

Adjacent foreign races : Malays and Polynesians, especially Tongans, separated by sea. Partially civilized and aggressive, uncivilized Papuans to the westward.

Adjacent tribes of same race in contact or separated in state of continual mutual hostility.

Partial division of labour in addition to that between the sexes. Men hunt, fight, make implements and weapons, farm. Carpenters form a distinct class.

Complicated and definite political system.

The relation may be :

(1) "Bati" an equal alliance ;
(2) "Gali" partially tributary ;
(3) "Vannakaisis" slave lands.

Social divisions : king, chiefs, warriors, landholders, slaves, all wearing different costumes. Chieftains hereditary within the royal family, but elective as to individual. Chief cannot be killed by an inferior. Persons and property of subjects at chief's disposal. Marks of rank : long finger nails, certain kinds of dress, white turban, long trains, sun shades, fine sleeping mats. Chief's children kept longest without dress. Sumptuary laws exist and tribute in clothing paid annually.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND PROFESSIONAL

Sorcerers, seers and professional dreamers, orators and *hairdressers*. Priesthood a distinct class under the control of chiefs. Form a hierarchy, generally hereditary. Women are kept under very rigid taboos. The military is partially separate and possesses a certain degree of organization.

CEREMONIAL

FUNERARY :

Bodies of chiefs deposited in temples (aged chiefs buried alive). Provisions offered daily. Club and whales' teeth (which are a form of currency as well as ornament) put into the hands of the dead.

AESTHETICS

Decoration of products, canoes, implements, etc., in zigzag and similar patterns. Music, dancing and epic songs.

MORALS

Female virtue high.

SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

Conviction of a future life. Chiefs enrolled among the gods after death. Countless number of gods, inferior and superior, general and local. Tradition of a deluge. Gods are greatest, cannibals, murderers, adulterers, etc.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Barter. Whales' teeth used as currency. Occasionally meet at a fixed place for trade. Also carry on constant internal trade with their canoes. Considerable trade with the Tongans.

ORNAMENT

MUTILATIONS :

Circumcision, amputation of little finger as mourning rite. Women tattooed and cicatrised.

ADORNMENT

Coiffure very elaborate. Hair of head frizzled up to an immense size, sometimes dyed and decorated with flowers and beads. Skin rubbed with scented oil and painted black or red. Pieces of wood worn in ears, shell necklaces, garters. In war-like enterprises the face and body are painted in stripes of white, yellow, red and black, and this custom has been brought to a very high point of art. Persons of eminence have private curlers who are occupied for hours every day in the preparation of wigs. Ornament is very highly considered, its use being of much more importance among the men than among the women.

CLOTHING

Men wear the *maro* or wrapper. The clothing in fact represents a high type, in what Ratzel calls the "Polynesian colonies". The material is the Polynesian *tapa*. A wrapping passes between the thighs which is of such a breadth and length that it extends to a couple of hundred feet. The usual measure is from twelve to twenty feet ; it is wound several times around the loins in such a manner that the ends hang down to the knees in front and lower behind. The turban of white *masi*, from which a piece of cloth falls down at the back, or two lappets over the ears, is indispensable to the man of rank. Women wear a petticoat of bark cloth, dyed all manner of colours, having fringes reaching to above the knees and also a *maro* or wrapper not dissimilar to that of the men.

TABLE XII

HAWAIIANS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Climate. — Equitable and salubrious. Temperature from 60° to 88° F. Usual daily variations 10°. Rain falls about 40 days in the year.

Surface. — A group of 13 islands, 6,000 sq. miles. Active volcanoes, valley fertile, water scarce, few good harbours, no valuable or useful metals.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Vegetal. — Taro, sweet potatoes, yams, breadfruit, etc. Some plants suitable for clothing.

Animal. — Sparse : hogs, dogs, rats, birds plentiful, some of them furnishing feathers for decoration. No beast of prey. Fish abundant.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

No adjacent foreign races, but natives of different islands or different sections of the same island, frequently in a state of mutual hostility.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

Middle stature, well formed open countenance, features frequently resembling those of Europeans. Hair black or brown, strong, often curly. Complexion olive or reddish brown. Ruling class physically more powerful.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Division of labour partial in addition to that between the sexes. Men : occupation outdoor and laborious, subdivided among the superior classes into house carpenters, canoe builders, farmers, fishermen. Inferior class working on the soil. Women — Superior classes : occupations indoors and light. Inferior classes : labour on land. Local differentiation of occupations. The organization consists of :

(1) King, royal family, prime minister ;

(2) Governors of the different islands, chiefs of large division (descendants of the independent kings of Cook's time) ;

(3) Priests and chiefs of districts ;

(4) Labouring classes.

There is some evidence that the common people maintained their right by force of arms at times.

MILITARY

Partly separated from civil. Inferior chief sometimes commanding. But the army nevertheless was not a distinct class. Considerable organization. Man armed on the principle of the division of labour.

Medicine men, astrologers, prophets, masters at arms, strolling players and musicians. Religious only partially separated from political, the king sometimes holding the office of high priest. Women occasionally had power to lay or remove taboos, etc. Tattooers formed professional religious class.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Barter. Fairs formerly held at stated periods (each district bringing to market the articles for which it was known). Cloth, mats and food.

CEREMONIAL

Funerary :

Funerals performed in secret. Body disposed of by burial (natural caves preferred) burning, or throwing into the sea. Provisions buried, posture varied according to rank.

AESTHETICS

Carvings with great variety of patterns, rhomboids, stars, circles, etc. Considerable sense of design. Music, dancing, singing, legendary lore.

Future life resembling the present, sorcery, every person not meeting with death by violence caused by sorcery or unpropitious deity. Kings and chiefs descended from divinities, relics of deified men worshipped. Relics of totemism, gods having the form of sharks, etc.

ORNAMENT

Mutilations :

Deformation of the skull in isolated instances flattening it behind and elongating it towards the vertex. From one to four of the front teeth are knocked out. Tattooing. Depilation.

ADORNMENT

Feather cloaks, which reached their highest state of development in Hawaii the feathers of the *Melithreptes Pacifica* being worn only by the most distinguished. The cloaks varied in size and colour according to rank. Helmet shaped head-dresses of yellow feathers. Flower garlands and *hula* wreaths, etc., worn by both sexes on festive occasions. Women : necklaces or ruffs of coloured feathers, shells, twisted hair. Bracelets of boar tusks or shells. Cloth scented and painted with various colours and great variety of patterns. Coiffure simple for both sexes.

CLOTHING

Not cut or fitted to the body. A piece of cloth (sometimes rendered impervious by varnish) round the waist. The higher classes have also a large piece over their shoulders. Sleeping clothes used by chiefs only. (See p. 142 for description of cloth and method of manufacture).

TABLE XIII

DYAKS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

CLIMATE. — In the lowlands hot but not oppressive, moist, in general healthy. Rainy season lasts from November to May.

SURFACE. — About 200,000 sq. miles with extensive seaboard, permitting varied products and occupations. Very fertile, allowing a dense population, especially along the numerous rivers. Metalliferous : coal, antimony, iron, tin, nickel, cobalt, quicksilver, gold, diamonds.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

VEGETAL. — Dense, very many plants yielding food and suitable for building, clothing, etc. Spices, palms, sugar cane, sago, etc. Iron, wood, bamboo, rattan.

ANIMAL. — Rivals the flora in luxuriance. Elephant, rhinoceros, leopard, tiger, ounce, bear, wild boar, buffalo, apes, birds of prey, of paradise, etc. Many kinds of fish.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

Average height of men 5 ft. 4 in. ; of women 4 ft. 10 in. Powerfully built, strong, active and enduring. Women muscular lower limbs, well developed, but somewhat bent. Feet prehensile. Skin yellowish to reddish brown. Liable to skin diseases. Features regular.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Adjacent foreign races partially civilized, separated by partial barriers and in contact : Malays, Chinese, etc. Adjacent tribes of same race mostly warlike and uncivilized, continual mutual hostility.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Division of labour. Industrial government partially separated from political ; a trading chief occasionally. In some tribes, chief fixes the prices. Partial division of labour in addition to that between the sexes. Men do most of the heavy work. Blacksmith a distinct trade. Women attend to domestic duties. Partial local differentiation of labour. The "charvats", jackets, and "bedangs" manufactured by the Sakarrian and Sarebas Dyaks only. Organization : some chiefs hereditary but most rise by merit. Village chiefs sometimes subject to a head chief over several villages. Classes : Chiefs, freemen, slaves. Transgression against persons or property generally punished by a fixed fine. Slavery established by crimes, debts and capture. Military partially differentiated but coextensive with male population.

ECCLESIASTICAL

Offices of priests, soothsayers and doctor generally held by the same person. Eccleciastical government separated from political. Priests have considerable influence. Among the Sea Dyaks the priests are always men but affect the dress and character of women and take husbands. Many of them are persons blind or maimed. Land Dyaks : five or six priests in each tribe. Do not assume effeminacy. Priestesses comprise half the female population of some tribes.

CEREMONIAL

FUNERARY :

Burial most general, cremation frequent. Property of deceased buried with the body. Those who fall in battle generally left unburied. Feasts similar to the Irish wakes held on occasion of commemoration of a death. A head generally considered necessary to put an end to mourning. Sea Dyak priests exposed on raised platforms. Milanans : a chief's corpse is placed in a boat with his property and occasionally a living female slave and sent out to sea.

MORALS

Sexual morality lax before marriage.

SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

Very superstitious. The soul goes on expeditions of its own during sleep, etc. Less fear of death than more civilized peoples. Great difficulty in distinguishing it from sleep. Notions of immortality vague. Innumerable divinities and spirits, some of which are the souls of deceased warriors. Spirits the cause of all evils. Men are sometimes changed into animals and plants, hence the reverence for these and restrictions regarding the use of them.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Barter. The "sacred jars" seem to have answered the purpose of a circulating medium. No regular native distributing agency, the Malays performing that function.

ORNAMENT

MUTILATIONS :

Pluck out and shave the eyebrows and eyelashes. Pierce the lobe of the ear and pull it down with heavy ornaments. File, dye and bore holes in teeth which are inlaid. Tattooing by most tribes, head deformation by some.

ADORNMENT

Combination of rude contrasts. Teeth stained black ; brass rings, teeth, lead, etc., suspended from the ears. Brass rings round the legs and arms. Bright coloured clothes. Women have in addition brass and rattan brass covered rings and beads round the waist, sometimes in sufficient number to form a wide girdle (see p. 127) bracelets, armlets, necklaces of beads, etc. Flowers in the hair. There is appreciation of form and colour shown on the decoration of canoes, etc. Fine carvings representing sometimes the human form (Land Dyaks). Conventionalized designs of the sun, moon and stars (Kyans).

CLOTHING

Men : the "charvat", a cloth passing round the waist and between the legs. Women the "bedang" a short tight petticoat. Both sexes jackets, sometimes made of skins, sometimes strongly padded for warfare ; head-dress of cloth or bark, skin pouches for holding betel, etc. Clothing of the tribes of the interior chiefly of bark.

TABLE XIV

PLAINS INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

CLIMATE. — Variable, from very hot in the south west to very cold in the north west. Great difference of temperature in summer and winter.

SURFACE. — Prairie, flat in some parts, undulating in others. Huge areas of rich grass lands. Occasional wooded patches.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

VEGETAL. — Few plants suitable for food or clothing.

ANIMAL. — Immense herds of bison, furnishing abundant food and clothing material, Coyotes, antelopes, rabbits, grouse, eagles and other birds of prey. Some fur bearing animals, such as the weasel, etc.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

Tall, well built. Hair straight and black. Colour a reddish chocolate, though sometimes with occasional leanings towards yellow (as among some Blackfeet of the north). General characteristics of North American Indians.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Much inter-tribal hostility, but considerable interchange of culture and barter.

Marked division of labour between the sexes. "Squaws" domestic drudges. "Braves" hunters and warriors. Some division of labour as to handicraft, "arrow-makers" etc. Squaws prepare clothing, basketry, etc.

Tribal organization with sufficiently complicated subdivisions which while politically independent had offensive and defensive alliances. Tribal chiefs, seconded by head men. Subdivisions designated as bands.

Government loosely democratic, each band, gens or clan having representative with voice in council. Council sometimes popularly elected. Military and police societies. Numerous other societies many having special and distinctive regalia. Social distinction attained by heroic deeds or "coups" such as stealing property of another tribe, or taking enemies' scalps, etc.

ECCLESIASTICAL

Medicine men, ordinarily not particularly powerful.

CEREMONIAL

FUNERARY :

Body dressed and painted and exposed upon scaffold on a tree or upon a hill.

Numerous dances and ceremonies in connection with the weather, the game supply, etc. accompanied by elaborate regalia, masking, etc.

AESTHETICS

Rhythmic music, very fond of singing, dances, speech making, abstract designs and conventionalized natural forms on utensils, clothing, etc., well developed capacity for drawing.

SUPERSTITIONS AND BELIEFS

Complex and abstract notions of a controlling power or series of powers pervading the universe : sun, sky, earth, rock and animal totems, such as the buffalo and bear. Belief in dreams and induced visions. Faith in charms. Well defined notion of future state.

COMMERCE AND PRODUCTS

Exchange :

Barter — never reaching very important proportions.

ORNAMENT

Mutilations :

Little tattooing, noses seldom pierced, ears usually perforated.

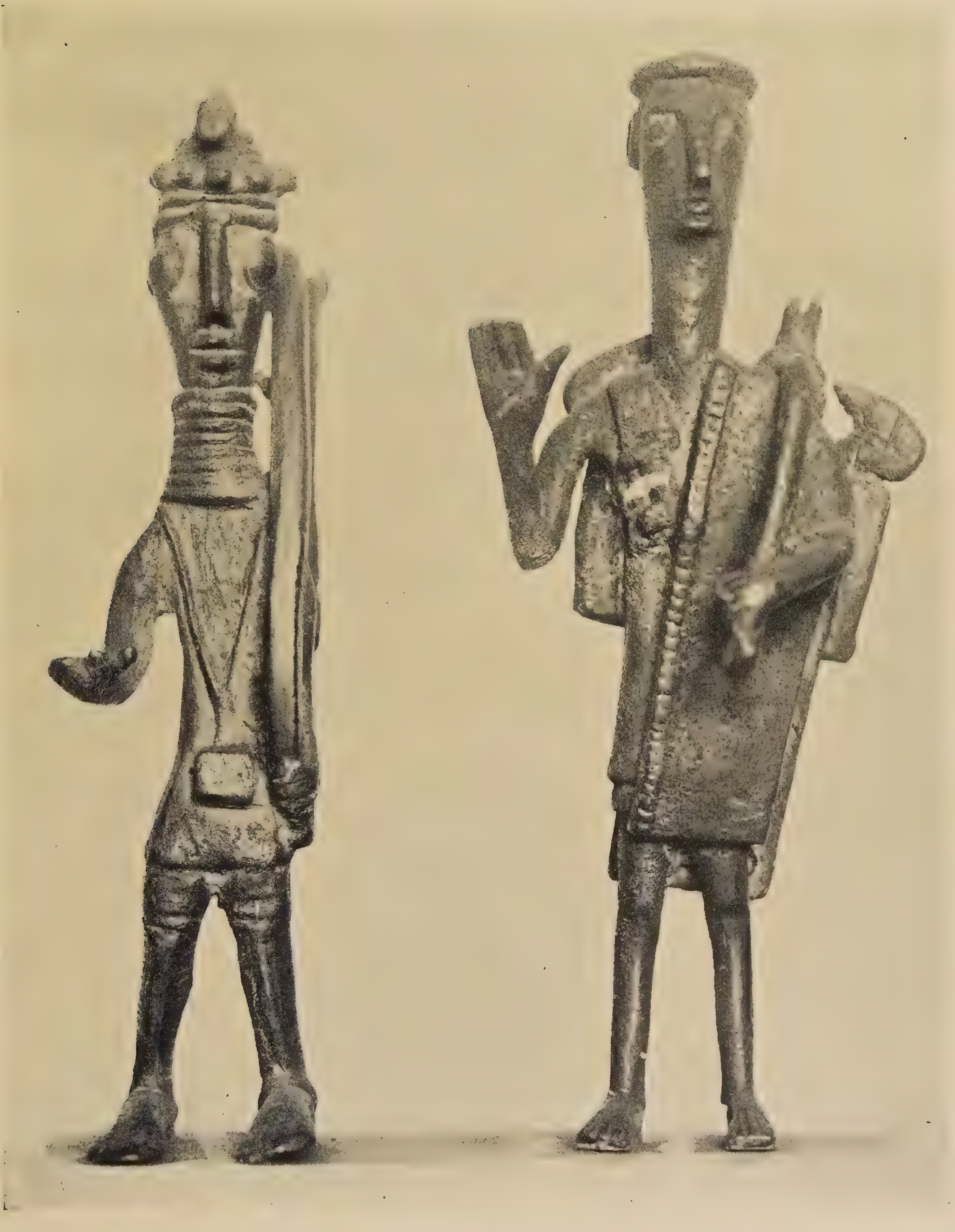
ADORNMENT

Amulets, beads, ear ornaments, necklaces of claws, scarves of otter and other fur. Painting of faces and exposed parts of body and sometimes of the hair. Feather ornaments in hair, feather headdresses showing rank and position of wearer. Symbols worn to show wearer's prowess and great deeds. Decoration of clothing with designs of different purport : fringe, quill decoration, etc. Armlets, necklaces, etc.

COIFFURE

Sometimes uncropped, gathered into braids or loose about shoulders. Sometimes forelock cropped and trained to stand erect, artificially lengthened by gumming on extra strands. Women usually wore hair in two braids. Some modes believed to have had totemistic significance.

Men not elaborately clothed for daily life. Breech cloth and mocassins (breech cloth possibly introduced by whites) the more primitive form being a small apron of dressed skin. Robe of buffalo hide for appearing in public. Robes of antelope, elk and mountain sheep for winter ; elk-skins without hair for summer. Beaver skins and those of other small animals sometimes pieced together. Blankets woven of strips of rabbit fur. Robes of men and women the same except for decorations. Mocassins varying in type with different tribes. Leggings with some tribes, longer with men than with women. Shirts of deerskin worn as full dress by dignitaries and prominent persons (perhaps worn formerly as regular garment, especially by northern tribes). Northern tribes wore fur caps in winter. Eyeshades of rawhide in south and west. Mittens and gloves, perhaps native, perhaps introduced by whites. Women wore more clothing than men. Sleeveless dress styles varying with different tribes.



Bronze age : Statuettes from the Island of Sardinia.

Pl. X.

.IV.

THE BRONZE AGE AND THE EARLY IRON AGE.

The title and placing of this chapter form a good example of the difficulties and disadvantages involved in a division of a work of this kind into arbitrary parts which are labelled with a convenient title and treated as "periods". Such a proceeding is only justified by long usage and the convenience which it offers to the reader habituated to such methods of treatment. Chronologically speaking, this chapter should follow chapter two, which it succeeds with no very marked division.

As far as costume is concerned, there are many localities where, theoretically at least, the Bronze Age never began. In other cases, from the same standpoint, it is certainly not yet terminated. As here used, the term is taken to mean that period illustrated by numerous implements possessing a certain similarity of type which were found throughout Europe. Most authorities place its commencement between 2000 and 1800 B. C. (1). In some localities it began much earlier, while the Aztecs

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(1) Some Archæologists deny the existence of the Bronze Age as a distinct period. They base their conclusions upon the finding of bronze implements in prehistoric deposits of the Neolithic period. But this can be understood by admitting the overlapping of periods. Chronology is further complicated by the fact that the burial mounds were apparently opened from age to age. The geographical distribution of the necessary mineral ores must have had a marked effect upon it. In Europe the sources of tin are practically restricted to Cornwall, Saxony and Northern Spain, yet there is a remarkable absence of copper implements. The explanation of the apparently phenomenal and somewhat mysterious metallurgical skill which allowed of a more or less

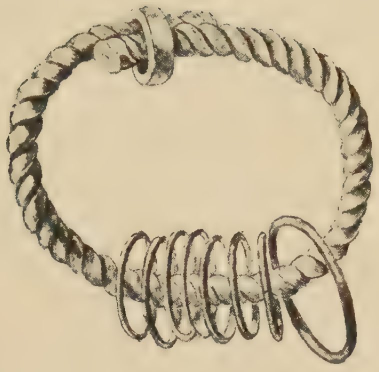

Fig. 104.
Purse of Bronze from the pile village of Wollishofen. Switzerland.
(After MacCurdy).

and Incas were still in the age of bronze at the time of their conquest by the Spanish. In the cases of Egypt and Crete the Bronze Age will be treated in the separate chapters devoted to their respective cultures. The title of this chapter, to be more suggestive of its actual subject, should be something like "The Proto-historic Age of Bronze in Western Europe", or "The Bronze Age of Western Europe as implied by the Conventional Archæological Terminology".

Bronze age chronology. — The transition period between the Neolithic Period and the Bronze Age is sometimes called Eneolithic. It is characterized by the presence of copper objects wherein the copper is unmixed with tin. At the present time it is usually combined with the first Epoch of the Bronze Age, of which it thus forms a part. This Eneolithic period forms the first of the four Epochs as adopted by Déchelette (2). They are classified, as applying to western Europe, as follows : (Table modified for purposes of costume).

Epoch I (including the copper or Eneolithic phase), *circa* 2500 to 1900 B. C. — A continued abundance of stone implements, especially arrowheads, arms, etc., of copper or of bronze containing but a small quantity of tin; flat axes; small triangular

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synchronous commencement of bronze age culture in localities where the necessary alloys would be difficult, if not impossible, to procure, must be found in the hypothesis of a race or races possessing metallurgical skill, which they distributed in Europe by widespread commercial relations. This argument is strengthened by the fact that Bronze Age instruments have a distinctive morphology and size, which set them apart from those used in the stages of civilization which preceded or followed : the identical appearance of objects found in distant localities seeming further to support this theory. As the form of many of the implements and weapons is considered distinctly oriental in character, and in certain cases, the shortness of the grips seems to make them unfit for use by the large handed Europeans, their origin is traced to Asia. Perhaps the Phœnicians, Greeks or Mycenæans were responsible for the spread of this knowledge. This and similar theories will be further studied in the chapter on the Aegean.

(2) Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique*, v. ii, p. 75 *et seq.*

poniards with tongue or with rivets; toward the end of the epoch, poniards with bronze handles; poniards hafted as axe pins; glass tubes in the form of a linear series of fused beads; bone worked in the same form; beads of gold, bronze, and altered turquoise, *callais,* crescents of gold; inhumation sepultures as a rule; dolmens rare; a few tumuli.

Epoch II, 1900-1699 B. C. — Bronze rich in tin; axes with plain borders, pins with spherical perforated heads; open bracelets with pointed ends. Same mode of burial as in Epoch I.

Epoch III, 1600-1300 B. C. — Axes with borders slightly raised above the plane of each face; slender nonpistiliform swords; pins ribbed at the head; pins with wheel heads; open bracelets with obtuse ends; ribbon bracelets terminating in volutes; sepulture by inhumation for the most part.

Epoch IV, 1300-900 B. C. — Axes with wings at the pole end; swords with flat tongue perforated for rivets; swords usually pistiliform; kidney shaped bracelets; fibulae with simple and crenelated arches; double razors; incineration dominant.

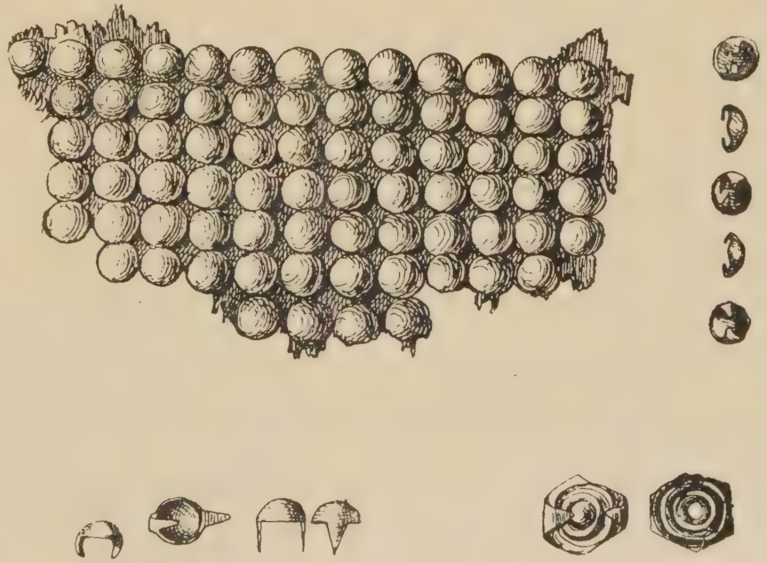

Fig. 105.

Applique bronze buttons used to decorate belts or other objects of leather. From the Bavarian Alps. (After Chantre. Scale 3/4).

Clothing of the Bronze Age. — Remains of clothing of the two sexes, more or less complete, and in an excellent state of preservation, take the discussion of the dress of the first epoch of the Bronze Age from the realms

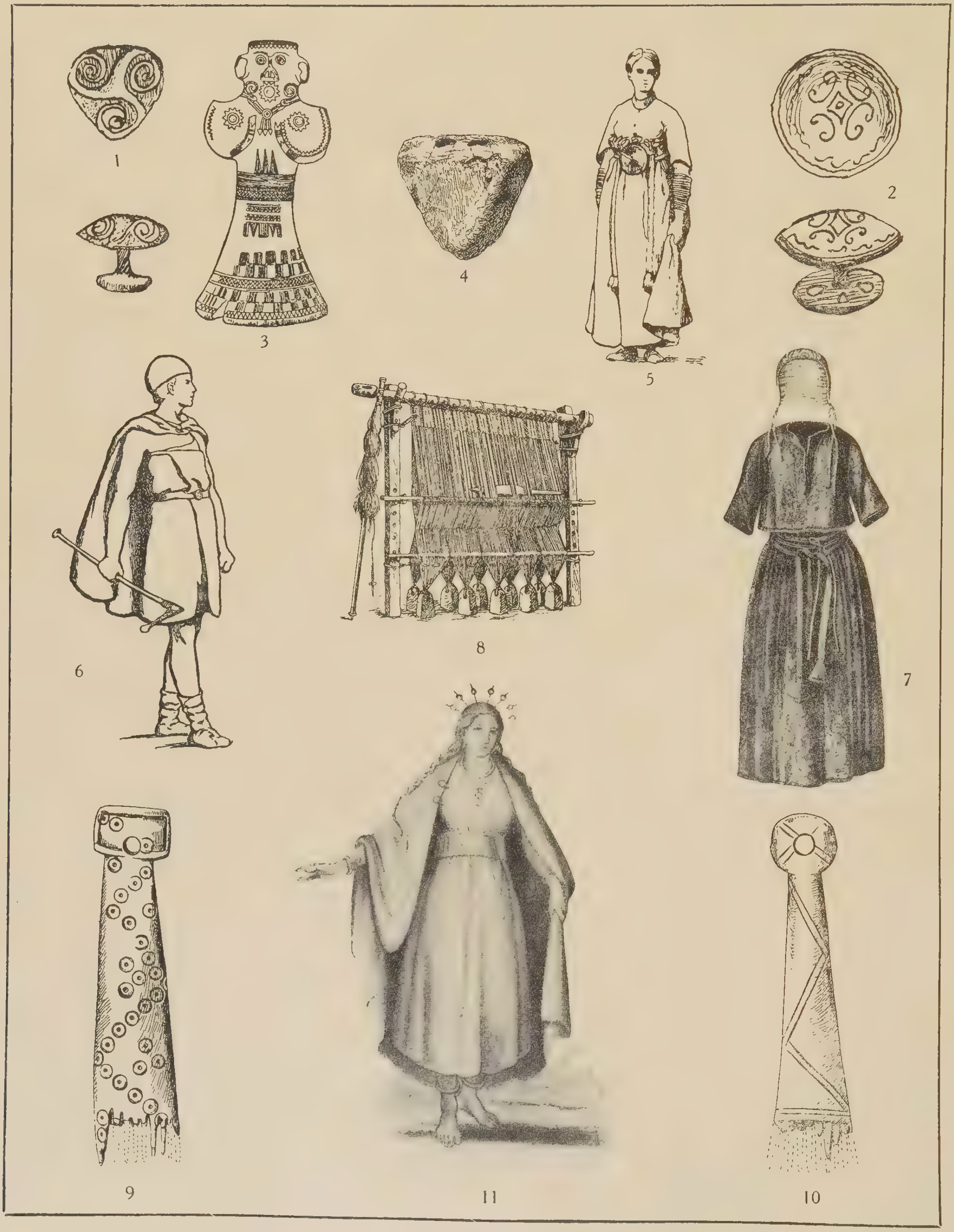
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Fig. 106

Fig. 106

1-2 Studs of bronze seen from above and from the side. After Worsaae. Later Bronze Age.

3. Klicevac Middle Bronze Age idol. Decorated in the Pannonian style, from Serbia. It illustrates the dress of both sexes for the period, and also shows how the metal ornaments so popular with this Bronze Age people were worn. Note the analogies in the design to those of modern Serbian peasant costume. After Gordon Childe.

4. Clay Loom-weight, Brooke, Norfolk. Early Iron Age. British Museum. Scale 1/6.

5. Female costume of the Scandinavian Bronze Age. Note the large "belt buckle". After Müller.

6. Male Costume, Early Bronze Age. After Müller.

7. Garments found at Borum Eshoi, Jutland, Denmark. After Montelius. Scale 1/22.

8. Loom, Halstatt period, with weights, distaff and spindle. Spindle whorls became much more common in the north of Europe in the Early Iron Age than they had been in the Age of Bronze. This seems to indicate that the textile arts spread slowly from the great Mediterranean culture centres. The thread was spun on the distaff which is seen leaning against the loom with the spindle hanging from it. The spindle was a wooden rod tapered and rounded towards the ends, about nine inches in length. It was notched at the top to hold the yarn while it was being spun, and provided with a heavy whorl (perforated disk of stone, placed just below the middle) to steady it and give it momentum when rotated. The distaff was held under the operator's left arm, while the spindle was twirled with the fingers of the right, and the fibre drawn from the distaff in as uniform a strand as possible, the fingers of both hands being employed to twist it at the same time into yarn. Each time, before the spindle touched the earth the thread was wound round and caught in the notch, and when a sufficient number of lengths had been wound to fill the spindle, it was laid aside and replaced by another.

9-10. Bone hand combs, probably used for beating in the weft on the loom.

11. Female costume. Halstatt Epoch. Reconstructed by Keller from a study of the texile relics from the tumuli. Sleeveless tunic, fastened by the characteristic broad belt, and mantle. This reconstruction is given because it is generally accepted by competent authorities. As a matter of fact it probably leaves much to be desired. The custom of incineration in vogue at this epoch naturally resulted in a great scarcity of textile remains.

of mere conjecture, and allow of a plausible reconstitution which may closely approximate the actual appearance of the people of that time.

Entire male costumes, displaying a remarkable uniformity of cut and general technique, have been found in five different localities in Jutland. If the climate of that part of the world were no milder than it is at present. the men showed a remarkable indifference to the elements and disregard of the protective value and possibilities of clothing. They manifested a hardiness only to be paralleled in more recent times by the rugged Scotch Highlanders whose dress has more than one point in common with that in question. An oval mantle, roughly corresponding to the plaid (in its second stage of development) was used to cover the shoulders, while the body was wrapped in a four-cornered piece of cloth which reached from the armpits to the knees. The upper corners were provided with bands or tips, to which leather thongs were sewn, which probably passed over the shoulders. A belt of leather with a buckle, or a woven band, passed round the waist, thus giving the lower portion of this garment a kilt-like appearance. The knees, if not the entire legs, were probably bare. The weave of the cloth was the same as that in use by Scotch peasants to-day.

The following is a description by Montelius of the garments found in the celebrated tumulus of Treenhoi in the Ribe district in 1861 (3) ; "The garments, still in a perfect state of preservation, are of wool simply woven; they consist of a high bonnet, a large mantle of circular cut, a sort of tunic, and two small pieces of wool which probably served to cover the legs ; at the feet were some traces of leather, perhaps the vestiges of shoes. The bonnet, which was without a visor, was woven of thick wool, the exterior being covered with strands which stuck out, each terminating in a knot. The interior of the mantle was similarly finished. The tunic was held together by a long belt of wool which passed twice around the middle of the body, being knotted in front and terminating in two long hanging ends decorated with fringe. In the coffin was found a second woollen bonnet, and a woollen shawl ornamented with tassels, half of which was rolled up under the head as a sort of pillow".

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(3) Montelius-Reinach, *Temp. préhist. Suède*, pp. 78-79.

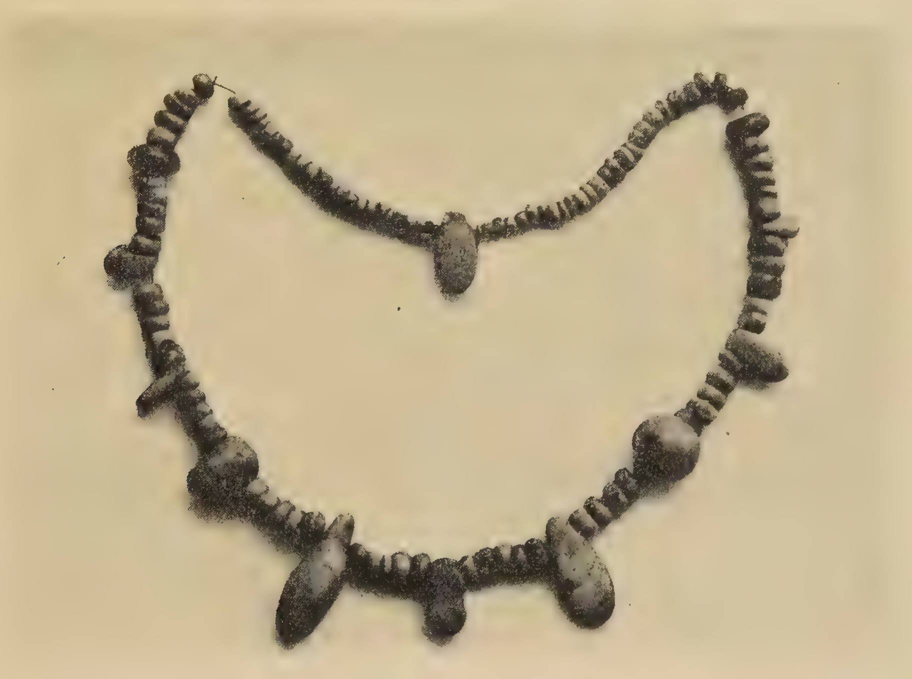

FIG. 107.

NECKLACE OF CALLAIS (*Variscite*)

composed of 107 beads and 10 pendants. From the Tumulus of Tumiae, Arzon, Morbihan, Brittany. Photo from the Museum of the *Société Polymathique.* Age not exactly known. Callais which is common in this region, is only found elsewhere in Provence and Portugal.

An outstanding feature of the Bronze Age costume is the remarkable development of female dress. Through the well-known conservatism of women, this costume has been preserved in living form. For the clothing worn by the women of corresponding districts, until industrialism caused the disappearance of folk-dress, showed such a striking resemblance to its Bronze Age ancestry, that the woman found in the oaken coffin at Borum-Eshoi might have walked about the 19th Century neighbourhood in the very clothes in which she was buried so many centuries ago without eliciting the slightest attention. A description of this dress might serve for that of the dress of a contemporary peasant type of more than one locality. "The headdress consisted of a fine and artistically woven net worn low on the back of the forehead. The cloth jacket was made from a single piece, the neck-hole being a simple straight slit. The sleeves were cut bias and reached only to the elbows, so that the forearm, where ornaments were generally worn, was left bare. The margins were finished in buttonhole stitches, excepting the lower border where two strips of cloth were added" (4).

The woollen skirt probably fastened outside the woollen jacket, as is shown in the reconstitution of Sophus Muller (5), for the lower border of the jacket is crudely and unattractively finished. The skirt, which, hung in loose folds, was made from a single piece, reached almost to the feet. Two woven belts ending in tassels were found with the clothing, together with a huge bronze buckle on the belt, which was so large in size that former examples were supposed to have been the central plates of shields. Examinations of Bronze age fabrics under the microscope shows that the wool was mixed with stag hair and that bleaching and dyeing were known. The cloth was usually dark brown or black in colour.

Posidonius (Ist Cent. A. D. cited by Strabo) (6), gives a curious description which is usually assumed to concern the "Isles of Tin". The locality referred to by the Greek geographers when they used the term "Cassiterides" is not known but was probably the Scillies. "Only one of the Isles is desert", he says, "in all the others the inhabitants have as costumes large black mantles which they wear over long tunics held together by a belt round the chest, which, accompanied by the stick they always carry when walking about, makes them exactly resemble the vengeful Furies of the Tragedies".

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(4) MacCurdy, *Human Origins*, V. ii. p. 201.

(5) Sophus Muller, *Système préhist. Danemark*, I, pl. IV.

(6) Strabo, III, v. 11.

Diodorus mentions an identical rude black *sagum*, in rough wool resembling goat's hair, which was worn by the Celtiberians (7). Furthermore, it seems probable that, as Déchelette thinks, "the trousers of the historic Gauls and Germans were perhaps unknown in Europe at a period so remote as that of the Nordic sepultures, for they seem to have been borrowed by these peoples from the Persians and Scythians..."

Because of the extreme rarity of graphic or plastic representations during the Age of Bronze, little is known of the clothing aside from the information furnished by the Scandinavian discoveries already mentioned (8).

BRONZE AGE ORNAMENT. — Bronze Age art was a heritage of Neolithic times. It is connected with an agricultural pastoral religion in which the Sun, as arbiter of the seasons and weather, played a capital rôle. This sun worship was doubtless responsible for certain of the ornamental forms so characteristic of the epoch, although it is possible that it considerably antedated the Bronze Age. The sun's daily journey across the heavens was symbolized by a horse-drawn chariot or swan-drawn boat form. The chariot came to be represented by the wheel, circle, spiral and other forms, and finally the swastika which is considered a perfect symbol of rotation (?) (9). The boat form was apparently symbolized by more or less stylistic representations of the swan.

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(7) Diodorus Siculus, x, XXIII.

(8) When such representations are found (the clay figurine in Pannonian style from the Necropolis of Klicevac in Serbia may be taken as an example) the resemblance to modern folk dress and motifs of the corresponding locality is, almost without exception, striking.

(9) The wide diffusion of the swastika and kindred forms over both hemispheres is interesting, if inexplicable. It did not become prominent among the ornamental forms of central and western Europe until the first epoch of the Iron Age.

The Votive Axe, which has been mentioned in connection with Neolithic times, is associated with these symbols, as well as with that of the Aegean oxhead, in which connection it seems to have taken the place of the Sun's disk between the horns. Bronze Age remains are rich in jewellery and ornament, and the wide diffusion of characteristic local forms shows the development of far-flung commercial routes. The jewellery will be treated in connection with the illustrations.

THE IRON AGE. — Of the two epochs, Hallstatt and La Tene, into which the Iron Age of Central and Western Europe is divided, only the first will be discussed here. The second, or La Tene epoch, may be treated appropriately in connection with the Tribes which came in contact with the Romans, as it is chiefly through Roman sources that any knowledge of their costume has been preserved.

The Halstatt epoch, roughly corresponding to the archaic and *Dipylon* periods of Greece, began in Central and Western Europe about 900 B. C. and its peculiar culture extended from Hungary to Portugal, having little influence in the British Isles, Northern Germany or Scandinavia, where the Bronze age apparently lasted until 500 B. C.

The burial finds in the Cemetery of Halstatt, in Salzkammergut, Austria, which was discovered in 1846, consist mainly of articles of apparel, fine amber necklaces, fibulae, ornamental pins with double spiralled heads, bronze belts, beads, and chains with pendants. Some of the finds point towards a lively trade which was being carried on with Italy.

Two phases of the Halstatt epoch may be distinguished as having existed in Southern Germany and the central and eastern part of France. In the first phase, articles of adornment

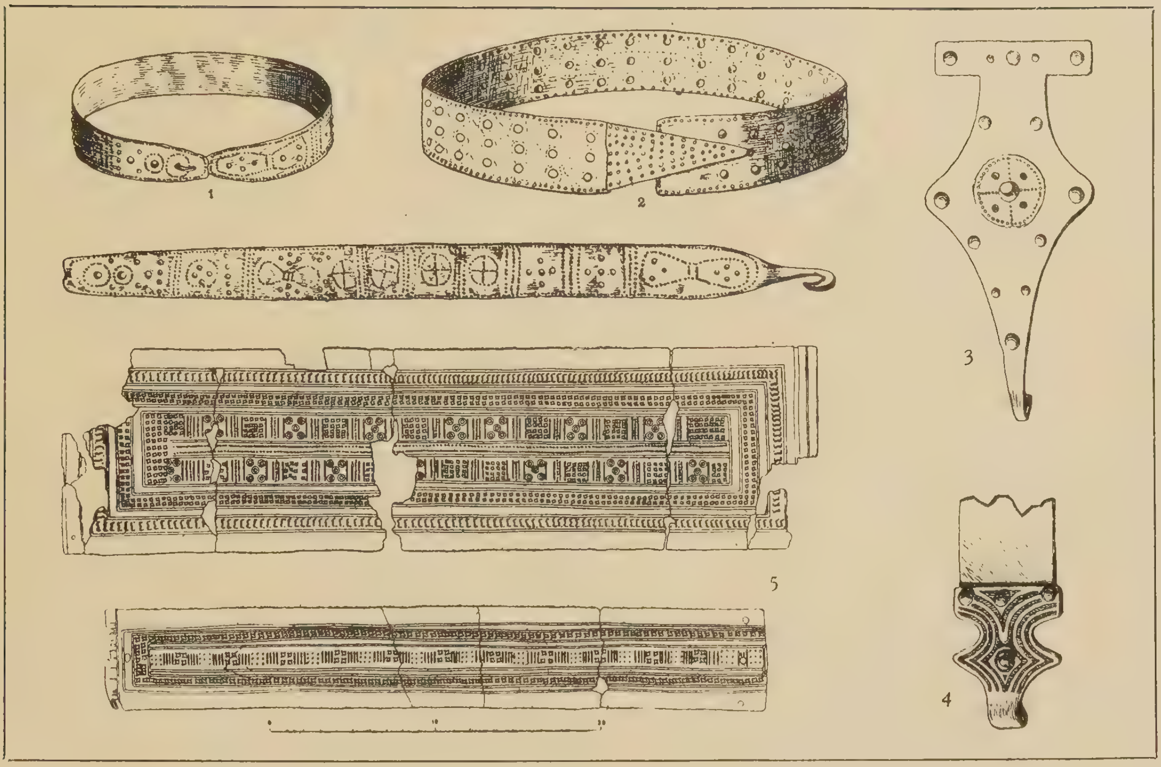

FIG. 108.

1. Belt, leather and bronze. From Halstatt. Second Halstattian period. Actual length, 1^{m}05. After Sacken. 2. Belt, from Ukermark, Brandenburg. After Lindenschmidt. Actual length, 0^{m}76. 3. Bronze belt-clasp or buckle, from Bavaria. After Naue. Scale 1/4. 4. Belt clasp from Acébuchal. After Bonsor. Scale 1/4. 5. Belts ornamented in bronze, from the Tumulus of the department of Doubs from Amondans, and from Myons. Musée de Besançon After Déchelette.

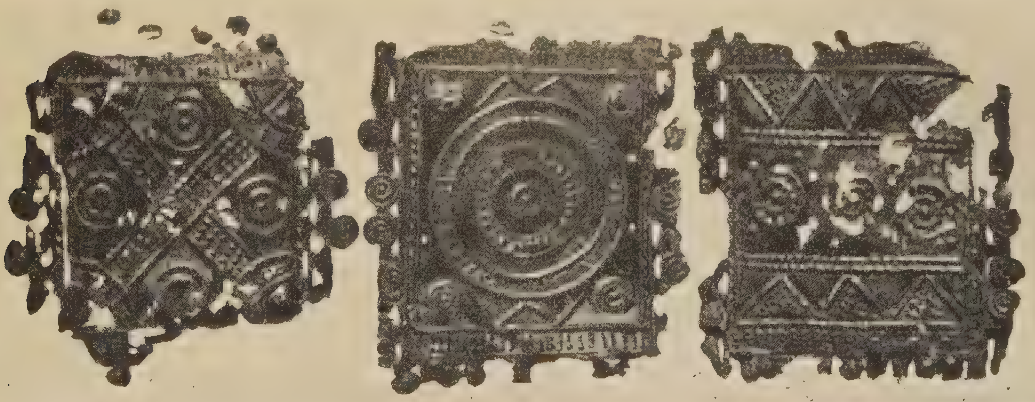

FIG. 109.

HAMMERED BRONZE PLAQUES

which had been attached to a leather belt.

From Panges, Cote-d'Or, France. (Photo Tardivon.)

are rare, while in the second they are plentiful (10). No fibulae have been found with the openwork bronze razors, vases, urns and swords of the first phase. Bracelets, anklets, various types of fibulae, belts of beaten bronze with stamped designs, earrings and bronze pins with a "swan's neck" terminal curvature are all found in the second phase.

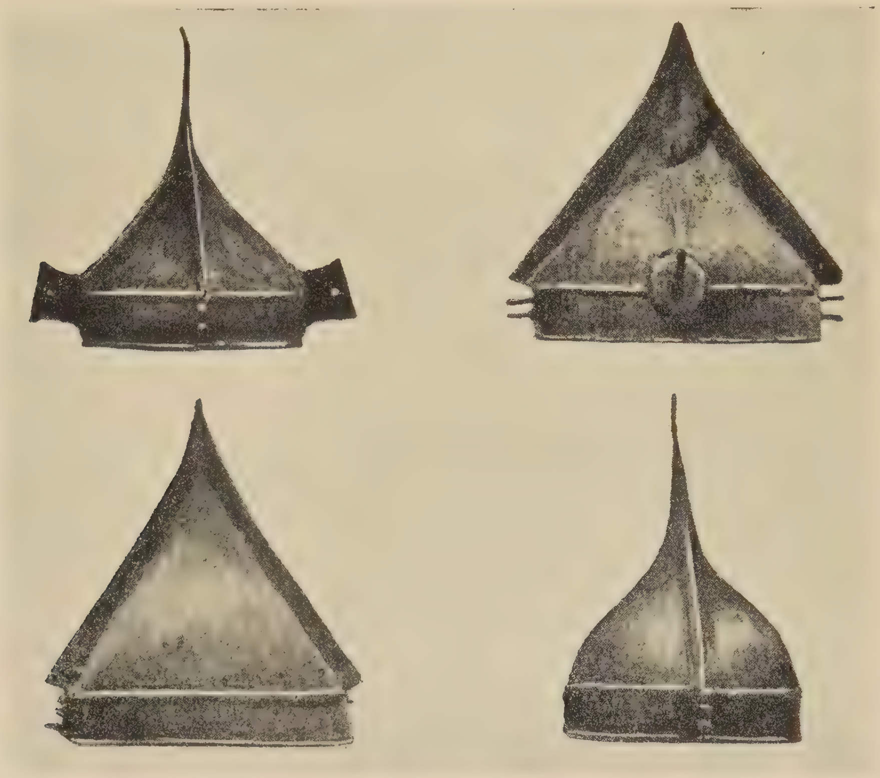

Fig. 110.

Bronze Helmets from Berniers d'Ailly, France.

Helmets of metal are lacking in Western Europe for the first epochs of the Bronze Age, with the single splendid exception found in Scandinavia and described by Müller.(*Système préhistor.* Danemark, I, pl. XII, nº 160) and Montelius-Reinach. (*Temps préhistor.* Suède, p. 93, fig. 116) Defences of the head which were of less importance than they assumed later when the form and function of the swords changed, were probably of leather or other perishable material. With the fourth epoch Italic models such as illustrated appear in Central and Western Europe. Two of the specimens are equipped with holes at the sides which served for attaching cheek-guards.

(10) This may be partially accounted for, perhaps, through the perishable nature of the newly discovered iron, which while it was a novelty would doubtless have been popular as a material for ornaments. Later, more durable and appropriate metals would have regained popularity.

Simplicity seems to have characterized the Halstattian dress of both sexes. One of the most important articles of female dress, during the second phase, was a broad belt of bronze or leather of such width that it may well have served as a corset. "The Homeric terms εύξωνος καλλίξωνος" says Déchelette (*op. cit.* V.II), "could apply as well to the Barbarian women of the Occident as to those of Greece".

Though no complete garments remain, sufficient specimens of cloth have been found to show that the textile arts had attained sufficient development to allow of the possibility of light garments of a fine weave. Towards the middle of the Halstatt epoch the fibula which had, up until this time, remained rare in Western

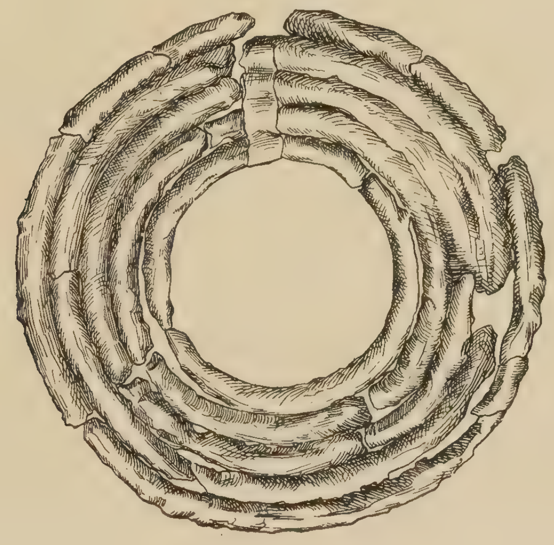

FIG. 111

IRON DISK WITH MOVABLE RINGS FROM NOVILARA, ITALY. (After Brizio).

Scale, ca. 1/4. This specimen belongs to a class of objects designated by archæologists under the name of "bouclier de pudeur" which are met with during the Halstattian period in a limited area. (France, Switzerland and Italy). They are usually compared with the disks used as "belt buckles" in Scandinavia, (fig. 106, group 3) but certain features of their structure throw some doubt upon the matter. They are only found in feminine sepultures. The fact that they are sometimes ornamented on both sides as well as that the central plate may project on both sides, places some difficulties in the way of the explanation of their existence as abdominal ornaments. Viollier has suggested that they may have been used rather as a sort of *tintinabulum* in certain ceremonies. His theory is supported to some extent by the presence of certain small disks equipped with a movable metal rim, which he claims are prototypical. Others think that these disks may rather be imitational. The type illustrated is one of the iron movable-rings found at Novilara, which are of about the same dimensions as the bronze objects in question, and were usually placed upon the chest of the corpse.

Europe, became common, and did not lose its popularity until the end of Merovingian times

In spite of the paucity of remains which might serve to indicate garment forms, Keller has attempted to reconstruct female costume from remains found in the tumuli of Dorflingen and Trullikon. His reconstruction shows a woman dressed in an armless tunic and a mantle fastened on the breast with fibulae. On the head is a diademic head-dress framed by a leather band which holds a series of radiating hairpins in place. The broad ornamental belt, a necklace, earrings, and anklets complete the simple ensemble.

An Etrusco-Italianate influence is evident in much of the Halstatt jewellery.

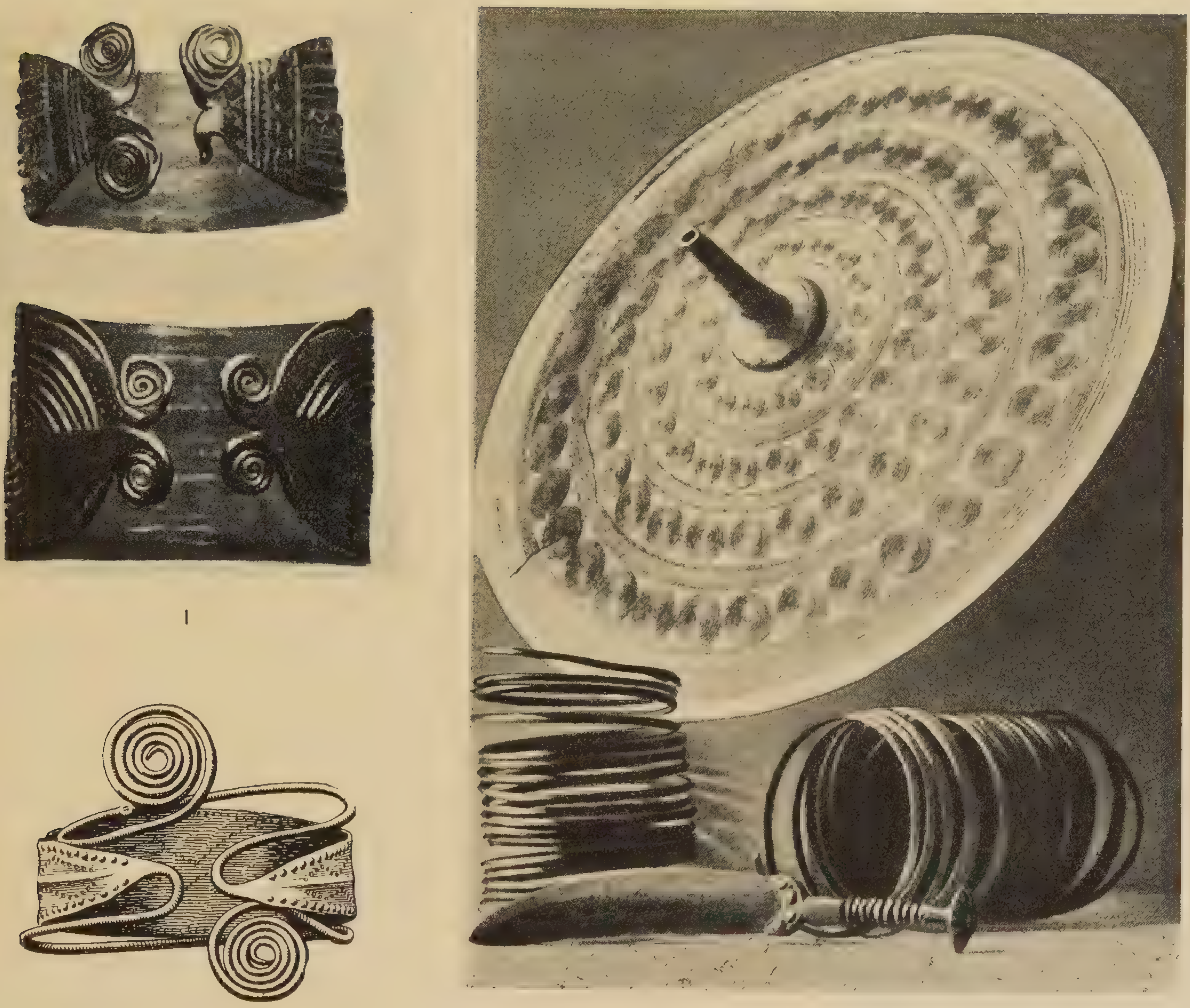

Fig. 112.

BRONZE AGE BRACELETS, ANKLET, AND BELT PLAQUE.

1. Middle Bronze age bracelets of gold. From Bohemia. National Museum of Prague. Photo Schranil.

2. Bronze spirally terminated anklet, from Hohenzollern. S. Germany. This type is also represented in Spain. Brit. Mus.

3. Bronze objects from Langstrup, Zealand, Denmark. Large plaque with spiral decoration fastened to the front of the belt. Spiral bracelets. After Neergaard, Scale 1/3.

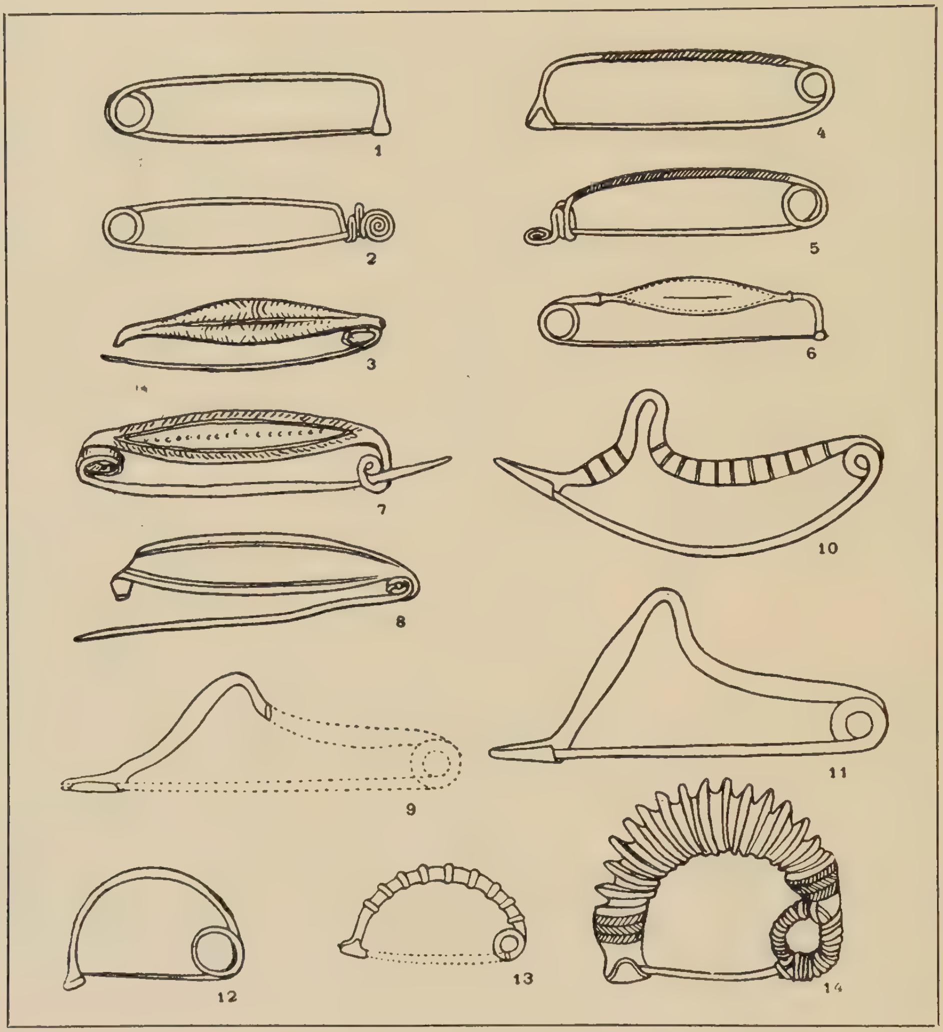

Fig. 113.

Bronze Age fibulae

The fibulae have furnished one of the main sources by which Bronze Age chronology and ethnography from protohistoric times until the Barbarian Invasions of the Roman Empire. They have been the subject of much painstaking study and there are but a few specimens which cannot be dated with more or less certainty of accuracy. The earliest forms to be noticed in Western Europe clearly show a Mycenaean influence but it is not until the Halstatt epoch that fibulae became common in that part of the world. Those encountered there in the last part of the bronze age are classified by Déchelette as follows;

a) So called "violin bow" type. Nos 1 and 8.
b) Simple bow type. No 12.
c) Fibulae with crenellated bow or side bow. Nos 13 and 14.
d) Primitive serpentine type. Nos 9, 10 and 11.

a, represents the primitive type, from which the other types are derived (?). See J. de Morgan *L'Humanité Préhistorique*, pp. 189 *et seq.*

1 & 2. From Mycenae (After Montelius) scale 1/5 3. From Mycenae (After Tsountas) scale 1/2. 4 & 5. From Northern Italy (After Montelius) scale 1/2. 6. From Central Italy (After Ingvald Undset) scale 1/2. 7. From Saint-Etienne-au-Temple (Marne) (After Dag) scale 1/2. 8. From Rodenbach, (Germany) (After Von Toll) scale 1/2. 9. From Notre-Dame d'Or (Vienne) (After Chauvet) scale 1/2. 10 & 1. From Cassibile (Sicile) (After Orsi) scale 2/5. 12. From Corcelette (France) (After Gross) scale 1/4. 13. From Larnaud (Jura) (After Chantre) scale 1/2. 14. From Mörigen (Switzerland) (After Chantre) scale 1/2.

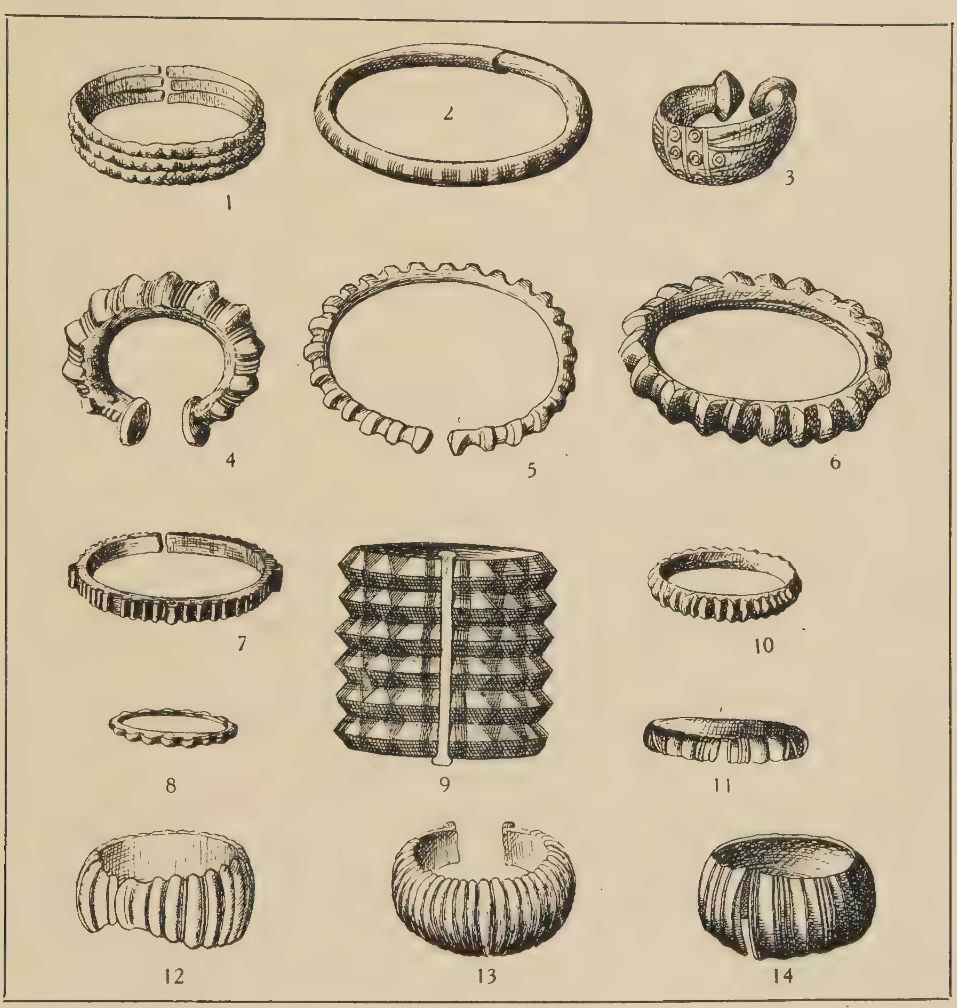

Fig. 114

Bracelets of Bronze.
Second Halstatt Phase.
Scale *ca.* $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.

1, from Igé, France. 2, from Ivory, Switzerland. After Piroutet. 3, from near Friburg-in-Brisgau, Baden After Schumacher. 4, from Haroué, France. After Beaupré. 5, from Bavaria. After Naue. 6, from Auvergne, France. After Déchelette. 7, from Flagey, France. After Chantre. 8, from Chamesson, France. After Flouest. 9, from Mons, France. After Delort. 10, from Bouzais, France. After Delort. 11, from Minot, France. After Corot. 12, from Bavaria. After Naue. 13, from Halstatt. After Sacken. 14, from Essey-les-Eaux, France. After Balliot.

Bracelets and leg-rings are numerous and show a great variety of design and materials in the second Halstatt epoch. There is little difference between the bracelets and leg-rings except in the matter of size.

The types of Halstattian bracelets may be roughly classified as:

1) Thin bracelets decorated with engraved or incised lines on their external surface, with geometric designs, etc. (N° 2). Sometimes closed and sometimes with an opening. They are common and widely distributed and there are numerous varieties.

2) Thick and massive type, usually terminating in thickened ends. Found in Northern Switzerland, Alsace, Baden, but rarely in France. They belong to the end of the Halstattian epoch and the beginning of La Tène.

3) Wider bracelets, with transverse markings or other decorations. Widely dispersed. Sometimes closed or nearly closed; sometimes with bent ends.

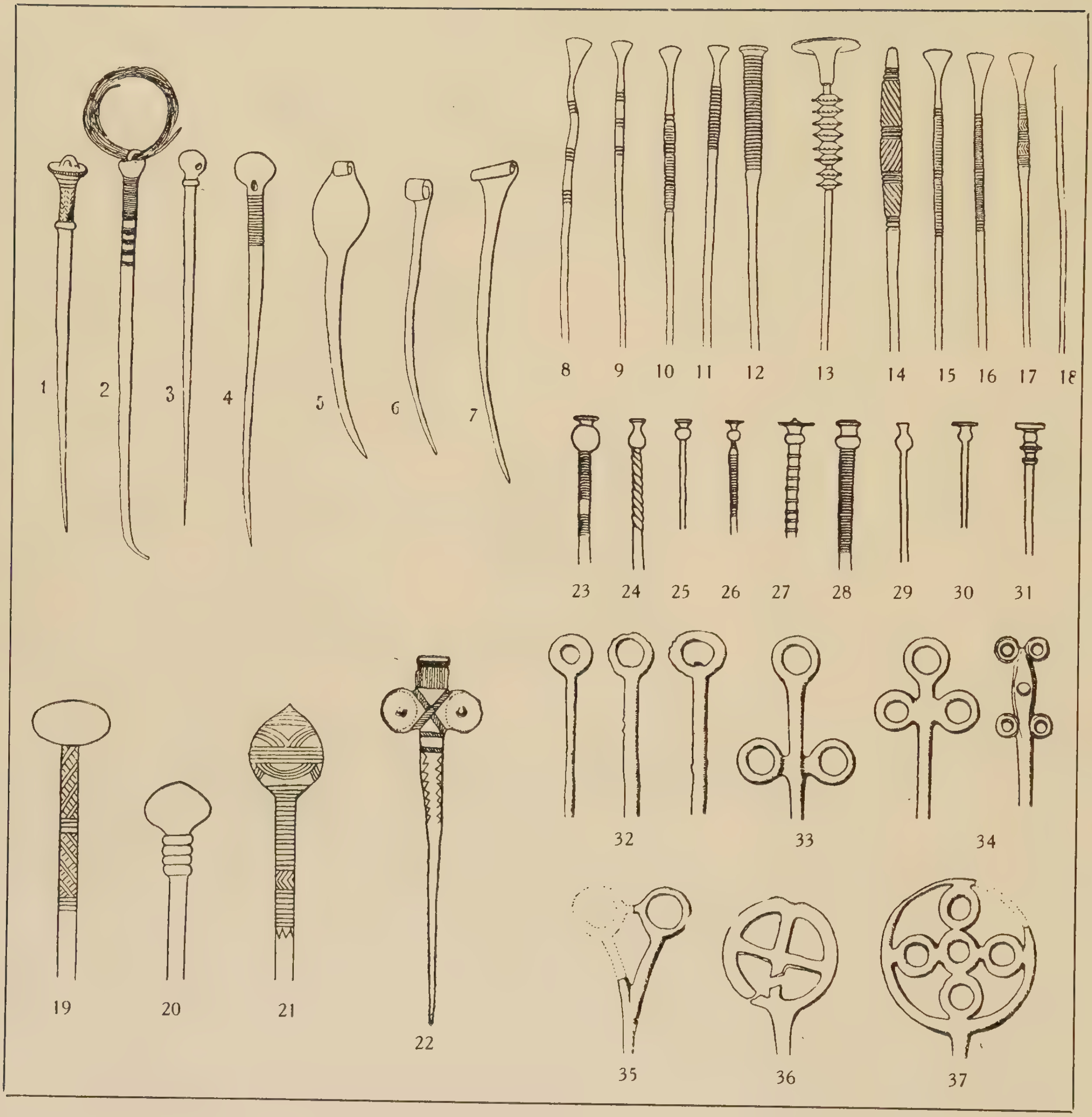

Fig. 115.

Bronze Age pins.

1. The pins (nos 1 to 7) are of the Bronze Age epochs, I and II. N° 1. from Neprobilic, Bohemia, is of bronze. After Pic. Pins are frequently encountered in sepultures of both sexes. They vary in size, often being quite large, and as they are usually found on the chest of the skeleton probably served to hold the clothing in place. Certain types may have been used as ornamental hair-pins. In the Bavarian tumuli, the male sepultures usually contain but one pin, while those of the females contain at least two. For the first two phases of the Bronze Age, the pins are found commonly enough in both southern Europe and Scandinavia, but they occur rarely in France, and when they do, are apparently of foreign origin. Scale 2/3.

Fig. 115.

2 Of gold, from Serrigny, Côte d'Or, France. After Saint-Venant. This pin is in the Museum of Beaune and has attached to its semi-globular head a ring, which served to allow of the pin being attached to the clothing by means of a cord. It replaces the ringed headed, spiralled, or perforated heads which were thus formed in the case of other primitive specimens for the same purpose Pins of similar shape have been found in Bohemia, and on the Rhine, near Mayence, and the Serrigny specimen was doubtless an importation. It is quite natural that these pins which were often carried over the Bronze Age trade routes for long distances, should have been considered precious articles, and thus every precaution was taken to guard against their loss. Scale 1/2.

3. Pin with spherical obliquely perforated head, from the tumulus of St. Menoux, Allier, Phase II. This type is also encountered in Bohemia, as belonging to the beginning of the Bronze Age. Other examples of the same type have been found in Northern Germany and the Middle Rhine region. Pins of this type with raised collars seem to have been the form from which the fibulæ developed. See Fig 116. After Moret. Scale 2/3.

4. From Holubic, Bohemia. After Pic.

5. From the Necropolis of Gaya, Moravia, After Virchow. Scale 2/3.

6. Idem.

7. Idem. But of gold. First epoch. Phases II, III and IV.

8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18. Pins from the depôt of Vers, Gard, France. Epoch III. After Mingaud. Scale 1/3 These pins are classified by Déchelette as being of three main types:

a) Conical headed, with the upper part of stem finally ribbed. N^{os} 8-12 and 14-17

b) A similar type with pronounced ribs or "Collarettes". N° 13.

c) Ribbed type with large terminal disk.

19-20-21. Pins from Bronze Age IV. N° 19 from Larnaud. N° 20, from Rodenbach, After Von Toll. N° 21. From Champigny, France. After Nicaise.

22. Pin from Lequisse, France. After Childe. 1/3.

23-31. Pins called "à tête de pavot" and "tête vasiforme". 23-24, from Bavaria; 25-26, from the Swiss Lake Dwellings, where they are commonly encountered; 27-28-29, from the Lake of Bourget, France; 30-31, from Hungary. After Naue. These pins which have a wide diffusion belong to different epochs up until the beginning of the Iron Age.

32. Silver ring-headed pins from the tumulus of Mouden-Bras, France After Martin and Pringent. Length 0^{m} 10. This type of pin was common in Bohemia. After Raymond. Scale 1/2.

33. Bronze pin, From Korno, Bohemia. After Raymond. Scale 1/2.

34. Bone pin from the Grotte de Latrone, Gard, France. After Raymond. This type was found more frequently in Italy, and served as a model for facsimiles of metal.

35-36-37. From Lavène, Tarn, France. After Cartailhac. Scale 1/2.

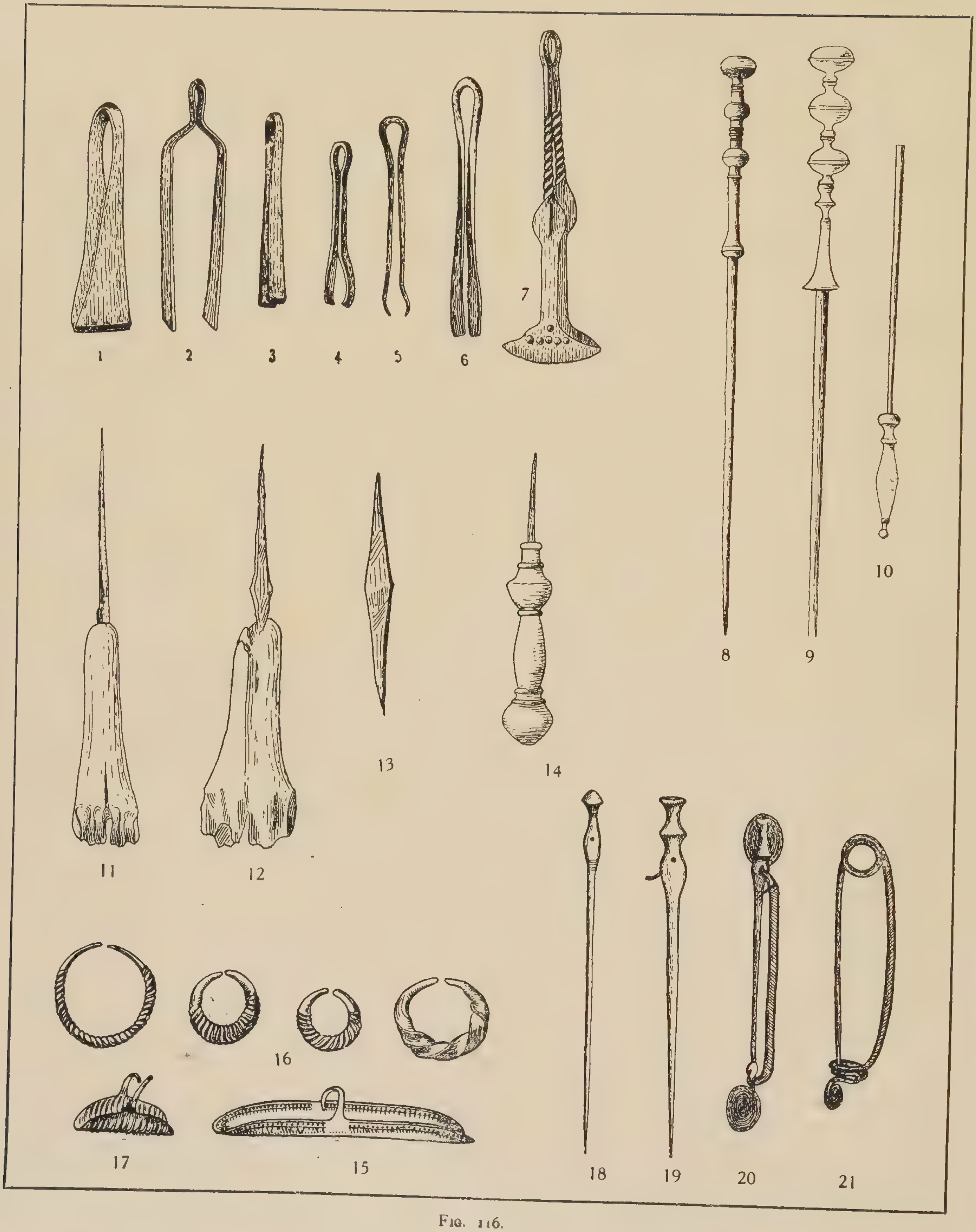
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Fig. 116.

Fig. 116.

1-2-3-4-5-6-7. Tweezers serving for depilation.

1. Bronze tweezers from Denmark. Brit. Mus. Scale 2/3. These little tweezers are encountered over a wide area in Europe and the British Isles at the beginning of the Bronze Age. In Scandinavia from the second epoch, although the example illustrated belongs to the IVth or Vth. Some of the Scandinavian specimens are of gold. They continued to be used to the end of Mycenæan times, for examples have been remarked from the tomb of Zafer Papoura. De Morgan mentions them as among the oldest of copper objects from the sepultures of Abydos, El Amrah, Toukh and Nagada, and they have also been found in Pre-Mycenæan tombs When found they are usually associated with toilet articles, and thus their function is assumed to have been that mentioned, but Montelius-Reinach, *Temps Préhistor. Suède*, p. 79, seems to think that they may have had a connection with sewing as they were found in Danish tombs in the company of bronze awls. I believe that a simpler hypothesis would be that the awls were used for tattooing. Sewing needles are singularly lacking from Early Bronze Age sepultures. N° 2, of bronze from Venat, France. After Chauvet. Scale 1/2. N° 3 from Le Saut, Lake Bourget, After Perrin. N° 4, from Moringen, Switzerland, After Perrin.

8-9-10. Bronze pins of the Halstatt period, with cap for covering the point. The head with its repetition of globular swellings is characteristic of the type of Halstattian pin. The point-cover, or cap, is strikingly similar to those used at the present time.

11-12-13-14. Copper instruments used for tattooing (?). From an unknown locality of Greece. Similar instruments have been found in Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, and France. Tattooing and body painting, which have been remarked as existing in Neolithic and perhaps even in Palæolithic times, doubtless continued to be employed during the Eneolithic period and the early Bronze Age. Déchelette even assumes that the so-called copper arrow heads from Southern France are as a matter of fact tattooing needles, for exactly similar objects have been found in Czecho-Slovakia with the handles in which they were originally set.

15. Bronze Age gold "basket shaped" earring. After Evans.

16. Bronze Age gold earrings.

17. Bronze Age gold earring. From the cavern of Sinsin, near Namur, Belgium. The model is considered to have originated in the British Isles, which furnished the origin of so much of the Bronze Age gold jewellery. As some earrings of this type were from ten to twelve centimeters in length and hung horizontally the peculiar aesthetic principle involved points to a religious or symbolic origin. After Châtellier.

Nos 18 and 19 are pins with perforated heads, from the Palafittes of Attersee, Upper Austria, and the Terramare of Servirola, Italy, respectively. After Undset. Nos 20 and 21 are primitive fibulae, which Déchelette shows are derived from them, from Sweden and Northern Italy respectively. After Montelius, who differs from Déchelette by saying that the Nordic model was derived from the "violin bow" fibula. Déchelette bases his conclusions on the assumption that the Nordic type is more primitive than the "violin bow" type and that the metal pin was directly derived from the linen or leather cord which formerly served to attach pins to the clothing. For a discussion of this not uncomplicated question see Déchelette op. cit. v. II, p. 331 et seq. and Montelius, *L'Age du Bronze en Suède*, CIA, Monaco, 1906 II, p. 257.

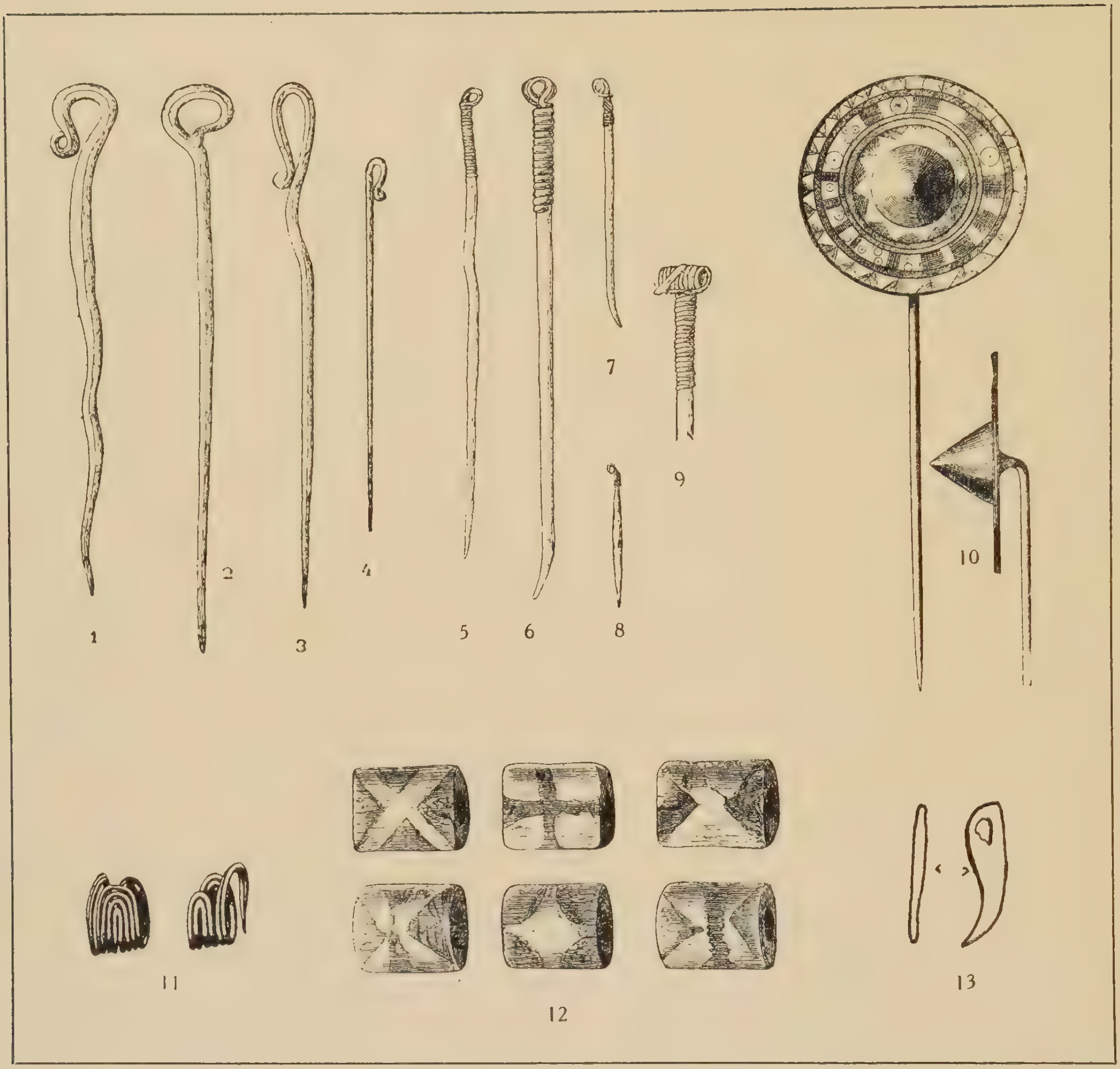


Fig. 117.

1-2-3-4. "Shepherd's crook" pins. From Grésine, France. After Chantre. 2, from Villanova, Italy. 3, from Angermünde, Uckermark, Germany. After Schumann.

5-6-7-8-9. Rolled and "eyed" pins. Pins of this type occurred in Egypt in the Naquada period, (see 9) in Cyprus, 7, in Troy, in Central Europe (Bohemia) 6; in Switzerland, and Southern Germany (Halle).

10. Pin with "sunflower" head. Late Bronze Age. Ireland. British Museum. Scale 1/4.

11. Earrings of twisted gold wire, which Childe says show an Aegean influence. From a Marschwitz grave. After Schranil. Scale 1/2.

12. Bone heads from Folkestone, England. Found lying near the elbow of the skeleton of a young woman. Brit. Mus.

13. Copper imitations of bored tusks. From Aveyron, France. "They are just the sort of trinkets which sophisticated traders would palm off on savages" says Childe, (*The Dawn of European Civilization*, p. 281). "Here they may represent the recompense for allowing the amber trade to pass through the area".

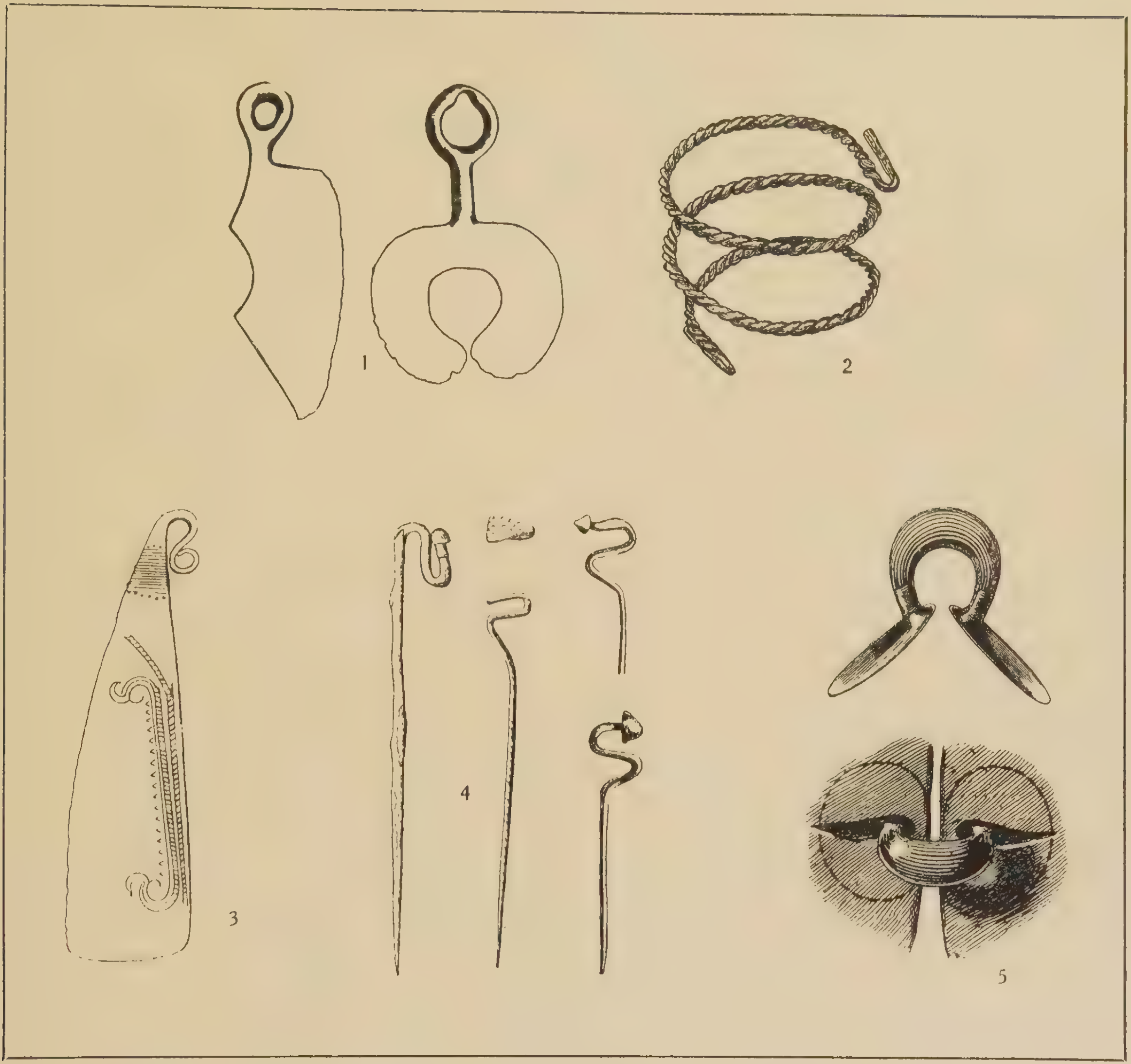


FIG. 118.

1. Bronze Age razors from the Swiss Lake Dwellings. Brit. Mus. Scale 1/2. Bronze razors are of numerous different types, some being very like the modern form. They always differ distinctly from the bronze knives. The pre-Mycenæans shaved with blades of obsidian, which they flaked in a peculiarly effective way. (See MacCurdy, *American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. II, pp. 417-421.)

2. Bronze Age gold twisted stem torc with bent ends. Like the Gold crescents these torcs were of Irish origin. They are comparatively common in the British Isles but rare on the Continent. Some of them may have been rolled in smaller spirals and worn as bracelets, or stretched out, as belts, the malleability of gold allowing of these different uses. From Cesson, France. After Beauregard. Scale 1/5.

3. Bronze razor from Denmark. Brit. Mus. Scale 2/3.

4. Halstattian pins of bronze, with "swan's neck" from Jura, Switzerland and Bavaria. After Naue, and Chantre. Scale 1/2.

5. Bronze Age gold dress-clasp. From Ireland. Brit. Mus. Scale 2/3. Bracelets with hollow or cupshaped terminals and certain collars show a similarity of form which has not been well explained. This article is called a dress clasp on the assumption that Sir William Wilde's theory as to its use is correct. Note illustration 5.

It is interesting to make a careful comparison of this "dress clasp" with the objects illustrated in fig. 133

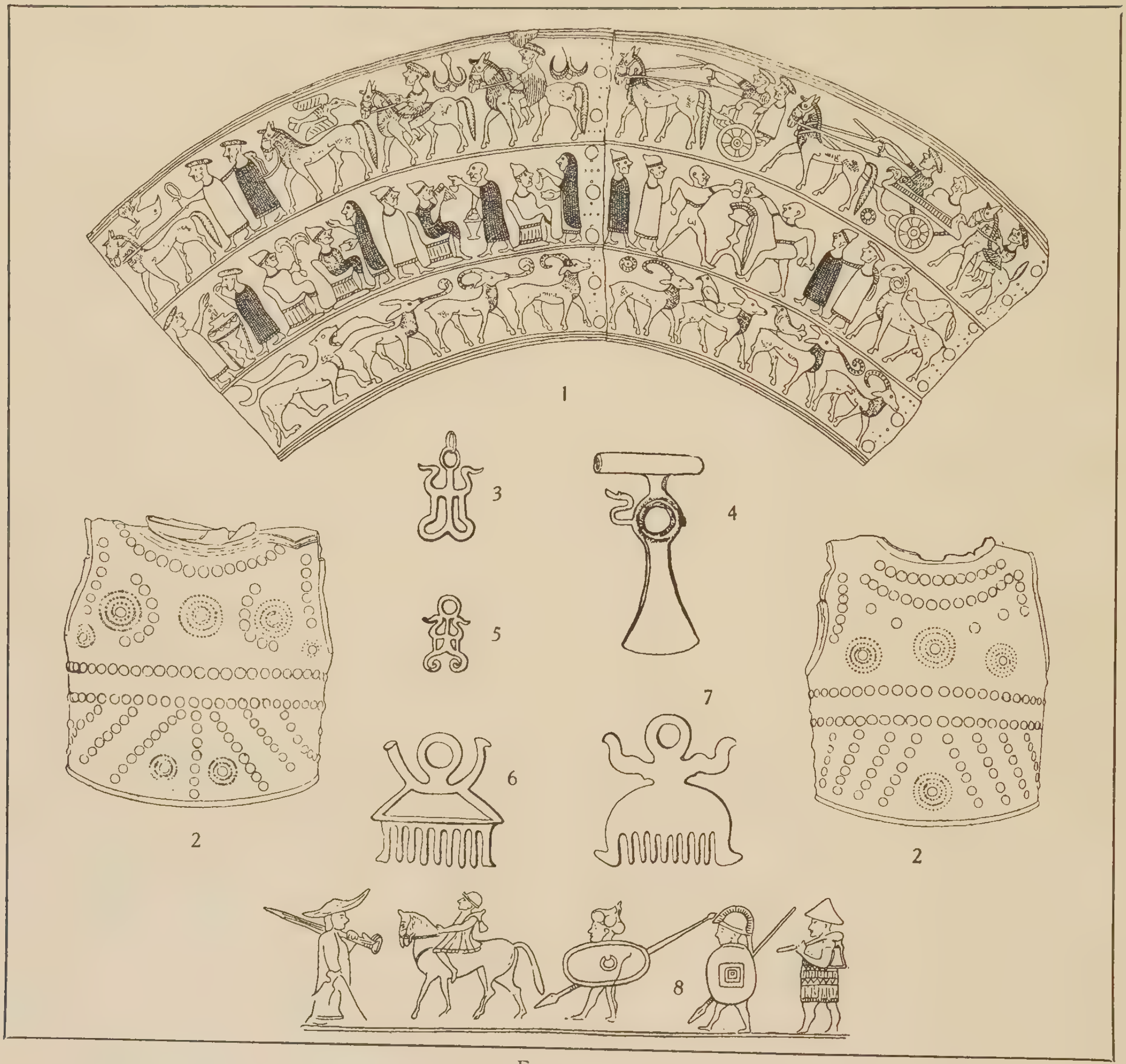


Fig. 119.

1. Situla from Watsch, (Arranged fragment.) Second Halstattian Epoch. Note Greek influence. After Bertrand and Reinach.

2. Cuirass of beaten bronze from Grenoble, after Beauregard. Scale 1/8. The interesting form of Neolithic Cuirass of boar's tusks, illustrated in fig. 21, Chap. II, apparently evolved into one in which metal pieces of about 22 to 24 cm. in length were attached to a garment of cloth or leather. Such pieces have been found in Hungary and Switzerland, and described by Hampel. (ZfE, 1896, p. 77, fig 41, and p. 78). Plastrons not unsimilarly made were worn by Mycenæan warriors. The Cuirass illustrated dates from the end of the Bronze Age.

3-4-5-6-7. Bronze Amulets. 6 and 7 from Bologna, Italy. After Déchelette. 3 from Italy, After Hoernes. 4 from the Palafitte of Guevaux, Lake Morat, Switzerland. From the Album of the Lucerne Museum. The conventionalized swan's heads shown on 3-5 and on the Votive axe, 4, are self explanatory. Ornaments of the type of 6 are considered by some students as being anthropomorphic, a conclusion with which Déchelette disagrees, saying, "the resemblance... of these little bronze combs of the Palafittes... (to anthropomorphic ornaments)... is entirely fortuitous". (op. cit. v. II p. 443.)

8. Figures from a pail, from Certosa, Bologna, Second Halstatt period. The catalogue of the British Museum remarks an oriental influence, and adds; "A selection from its figures shows a mounted warrior with no shield but the helmet and axe characteristic of the Po valley; and foot-soldiers with oval shield and Illyrian helmet, or with the Etruscan shield and javelin... (the figure on the right) shows the north Italian hat, and a bundle of spits for the sacrifice, which may be the origin of the bar-currency".

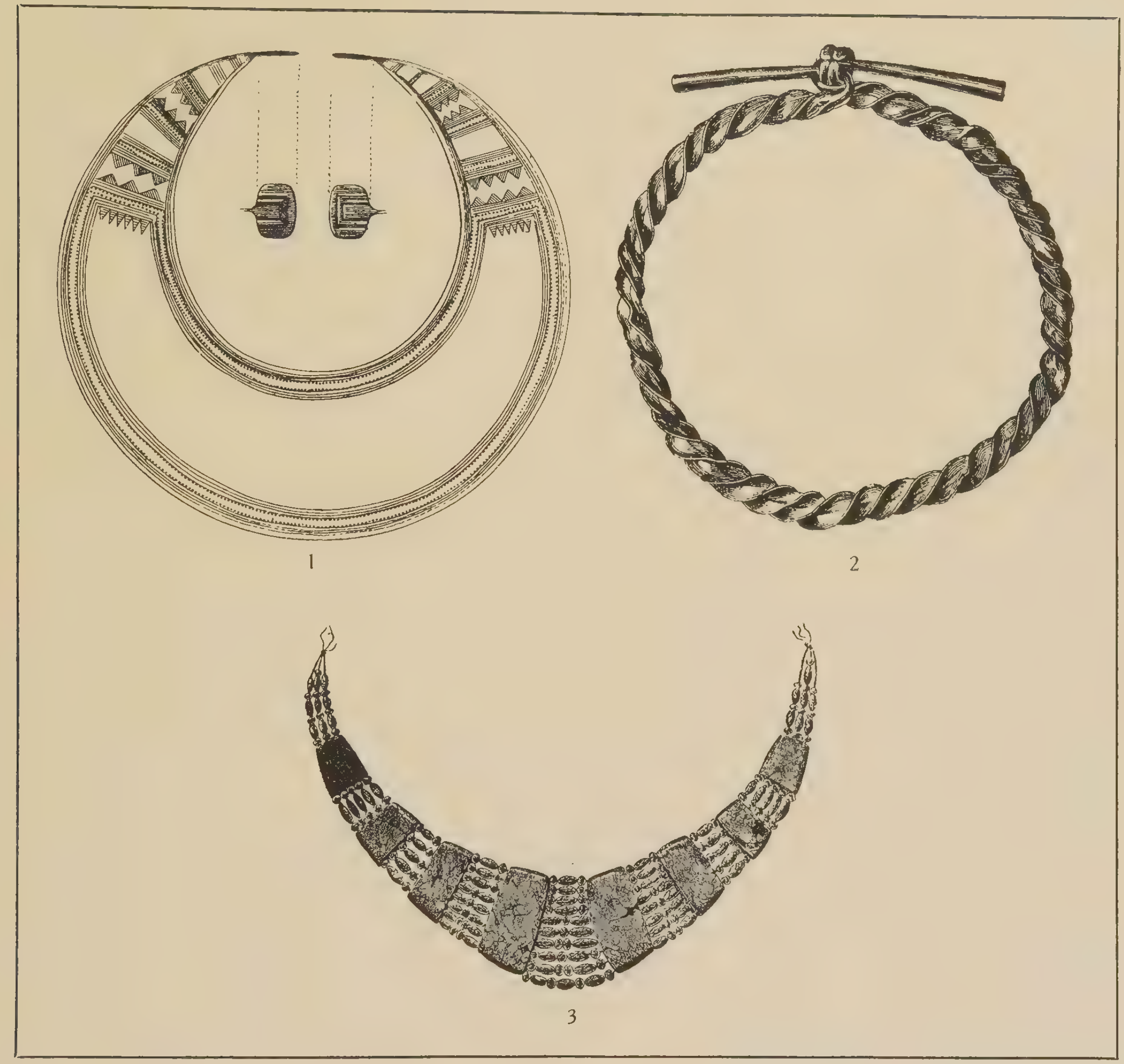


Fig. 120.

1. Gold *Lunulae* or Irish lunette from Llanllyfni, Carnarvonshire. These ornaments which are made from native gold alloyed with silver are of Irish origin. They were worn on the neck, (not as diadems) and occur on the continent but rarely, and then only in those localities where there is a possibility of maritime communication with Ireland. Numerous examples exist in Ireland (60) while fewer have been found in other regions. (Wales 1, Cornwall 4, Scotland 4, France 6, Denmark 2, and Belgium 1.)

2. Bronze Torc, from Wedmore, England. Its form is characteristic. Torcs first make their appearance at the beginning of the Bronze Age, and become common in the Early Iron Age. The Bronze Age torcs usually have a slender shaped end, smooth or twisted, thinned and coiled in spiral at the extremities. This type occurs most generally in Hungary, Italy, Bohemia, South Germany, Scandinavia and the Caucasus. Sometimes a number of these torcs were worn in such a way as to form a sort of cylindrical collar.

3. Amber Necklace from a Bronze Age Barrow at Lake, Wiltshire, England. Composed of eight perforated amber plates. The beads are also of amber. An entire treatise on Bronze Age aesthetics could easily be written about the arrangement of this beautiful necklace, and others similar in form but containing both amber and jet, found

at Kingston Deverill, and Melfort. After Thurman. Scale, ca. 1/4. Amber was first employed for ornamentation in Palæolithic times, but it gained in popularity during the Neolithic period, and formed an important article of commerce during the Age of Bronze. Necklaces, in which amber and polished stone form the dominant materials, are still in possession of Breton peasants who call them by the local name of ***Gougad-Paterou.*** their magical powers were until lately held in such high esteem as to make them almost impossible to purchase. G. de Closmadeuc, *Les Gougad-Paterou,* (Morbihan 1895) traces their origin back to the close of Neolithic times, but his conclusions are not accepted by M. Marsille, and other regional experts. Several natural routes allowed the distribution of amber from its places of origin near the Baltic and North Sea southward and westward through Europe As given by Déchelette they are as follows:

A) The direct route from the Baltic to the Black Sea via the Vistula and Dniester. From the Neolithic epoch it is precisely in the stations and sepultures situated in the valleys of these rivers that amber has been obtained.

B) Route by the valley of the Elbe to that of the Danube via the Moldau. This route was the most important for central Europe. It allowed the amber to branch off to the Adriatic, the Balkans, and the Hellenic countries.

C) Route from the littoral of the North Sea to the Mediterranean via the Rhine and the Rhone.

D) By the Atlantic Sea route, which however was of secondary importance.

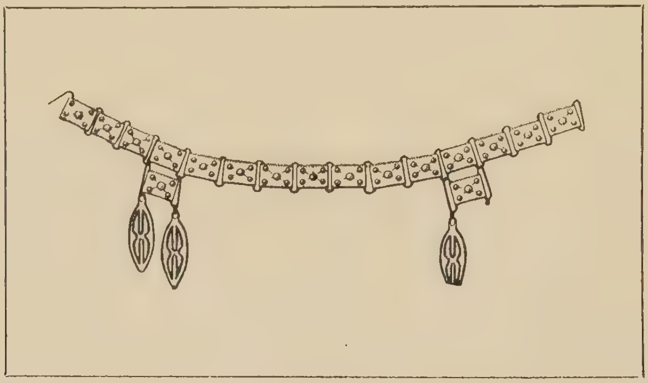
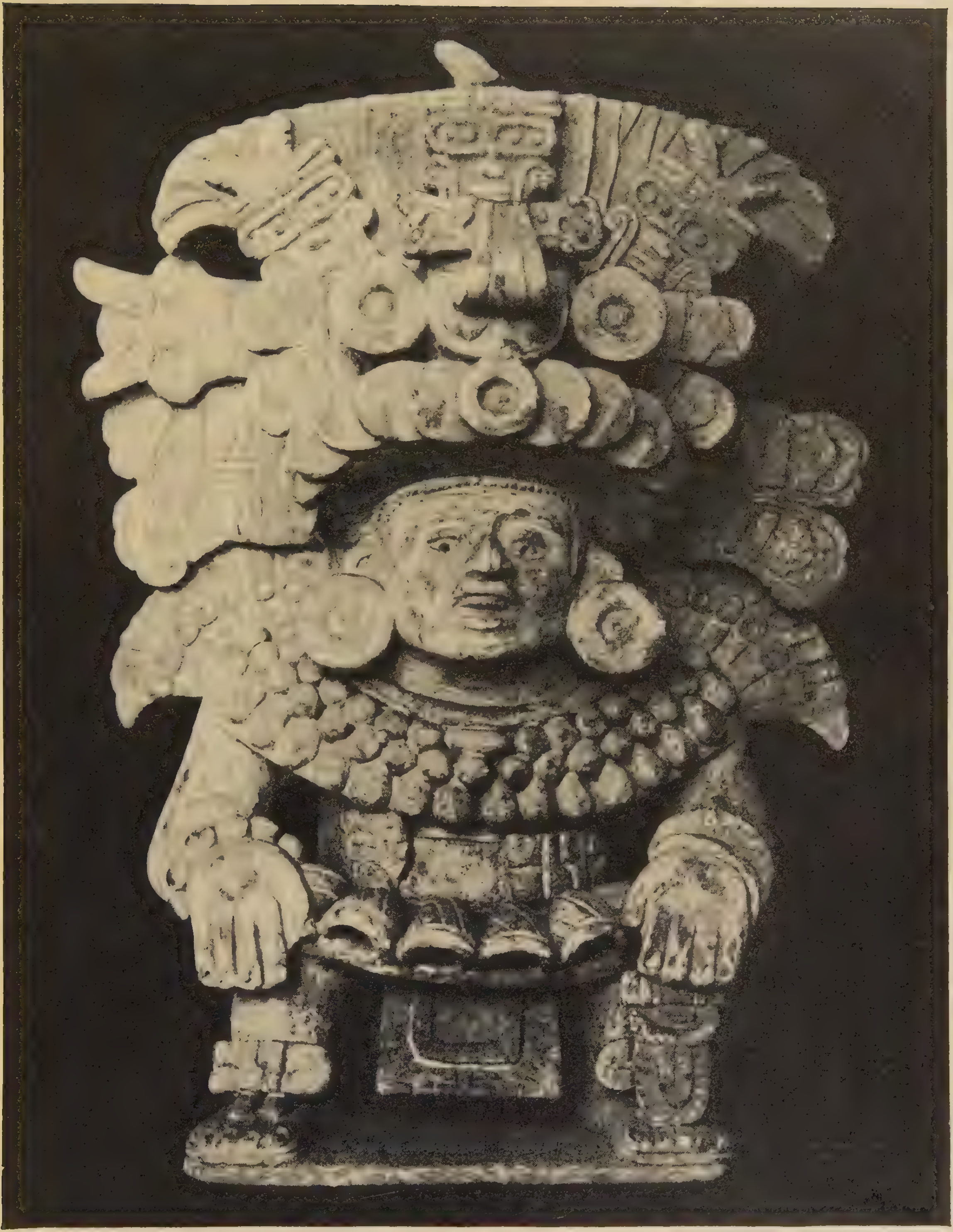


FIG. 121.

BRONZE CHAIN, FROM LOZÈRE, FRANCE.
(After Cartailhac).

These chains probably served as belts, and enjoyed a wide distribution. They were used in Gaul until the end of the La Tene Period. The form of the Bronze age specimens is characteristic (flat ribbon-like pieces alternating with filiform rings). They usually were decorated with pendants, and were single as the illustration, double or triple. Scandinavian chains of superior and intricate technique manufactured by ingenious and truly remarkable metallurgical methods also date from the Age of Bronze.



Sitting figure wearing a gorgeous feathered head dress depicted on a Zapotecan funerary vessel.
(From l'*Art précolombien*. Librairie de France).

Pl. XI.

.V.

COSTUME IN MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND PERU.

The *Conquistadores* found in the Western hemisphere certain peoples in a stage of civilization comparatively advanced, which contrasted rather sharply with the barbarism of the primitive tribes surrounding them. These civilizations they promptly and ruthlessly exploited, doing such a thorough job that only their own glowing accounts and the comparatively few monuments and manuscripts which escaped destruction are left as evidence that they ever existed.

From a standpoint of costume, Peru at least was in the fourth stage of development into which the culture phases are divided when dress is used as a gauge (1).

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(1) Louis Bourdeau (*L'Histoire de l'Habillement et de la Parure,* Paris 1904) divides the development of costume into five periods, according to the materials used. These periods correspond to the five principal culture stages. First : a stage in which he assumed that man lived in absolute nudity, being unable to acquire the materials necessary for clothing. Second : a hunting stage made possible by the invention of sufficiently efficient arms of the chase ; in which skins formed the materials for garments (nothing any warmer, for a given weight, has yet been found than furs). Third : a pastoral stage, which together with the invention of spinning and weaving, enabled men to clothe themelves in fabrics made of animal fibres. "To these limited but precious resources," he adds, "the agricultural age added the indefinite resources of the more easily produced vegetable fibres". Fourth : with the modern industrial commercial régime it becomes possible to utilize numerous substances, formerly impractical or unheard of, with little or no regard to their places of origin. (e. g. rubber, wood, silk, cheaply produced cotton, etc.) While this classification is extremely loose and therefore open to numerous objections, it is not entirely without value as an easy method of division for the study of the relation of dress to economic conditions.

The people of these civilizations made excellent fabrics and ornaments which were the despair of the contemporary goldsmiths of Spain. While their costume apparently had much in common with that of the surrounding primitives, there existed certain distinctions which set them apart in a well-defined artistic milieu, with a style, technique and sense of design, which, in whatever manner we may wish to explain its origins or sources, was something characteristic of and appertaining to them — as typical of their civilizations as any of the other well-known national stylizations are typical of the respective civilizations to which they belonged.

ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN CIVILIZATIONS. — The usually accepted theory regarding the American civilizations is that they evolved separately and independently of any cultural contact with the Old World. From this aspect they demonstrate admirably the tendency of the human mind to respond similarly to the same needs under similar circumstances, and to supply the wants of mankind in much the same manner the world over. "It must be well understood", say Raoul d'Harcourt (2), "that once and for all, a clean sweep should be made of the numerous and vain theories which, upon simple appearances or often for doctrinal reasons, attempt successively to attach the Americans to every people on the earth; to the Egyptians, to the Hebrews, to the Phœnicians or to the Chinese, to mention only the most popular hypotheses. These connections do not rest upon anything definitive, implying as they do, moreover, the existence of a contact during historic times between the Old and New Worlds..." He states as proofs of the isolation under which these civilizations developed the complete absence of any utilization of the wheel in any of its manifold forms; the extremely feeble development of metallurgy which, in most cases (body ornament must be excepted) was

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(2) *L'Amérique avant Colomb* (Paris 1925)

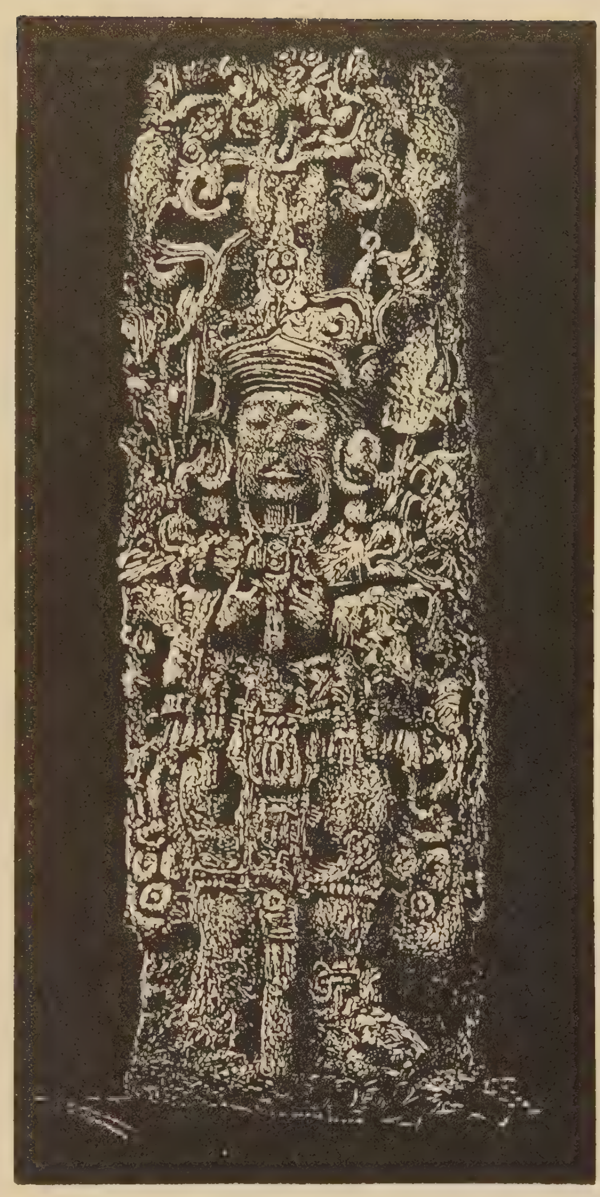

Fig. 122.
Stela from Copan
Note the turban-like headdress, (after Elliot Smith : *Elephants and Ethnologists*).

reduced to a reproduction of the secular forms of the lithic morphology; the rudimentary development and confined geographical distribution of writing, and the absence of means of maritime transportation.

Although, as has been mentioned, this view of an isolated and separate development of American culture is the one in vogue and generally accepted today (3), there is the exception taken by Elliot Smith, whose views are at least partially accepted by the late Dr. Rivers and Perry. Smith, who attempts to show that certain sculptures made in Central America, possibly between the 4th and 12th centuries A. D., were inspired by Asia, bases his conclusions upon parts of these statues which he claims, represent the Indian elephant (an animal foreign to the New World) and upon certain arbitrary appendages which he thinks always accompany such representations of it. In this connection he does not fail to mention certain facts

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(3) The recent researches of the Smithsonian Institute which tend, with apparently ever increasing authenticity, to connect the American Indians with the Siberian tribes, must be mentioned in this connection although their relation to the costume of the ancient American civilization, other than certain tribes of the Aztec confederacy, must remain relatively remote.

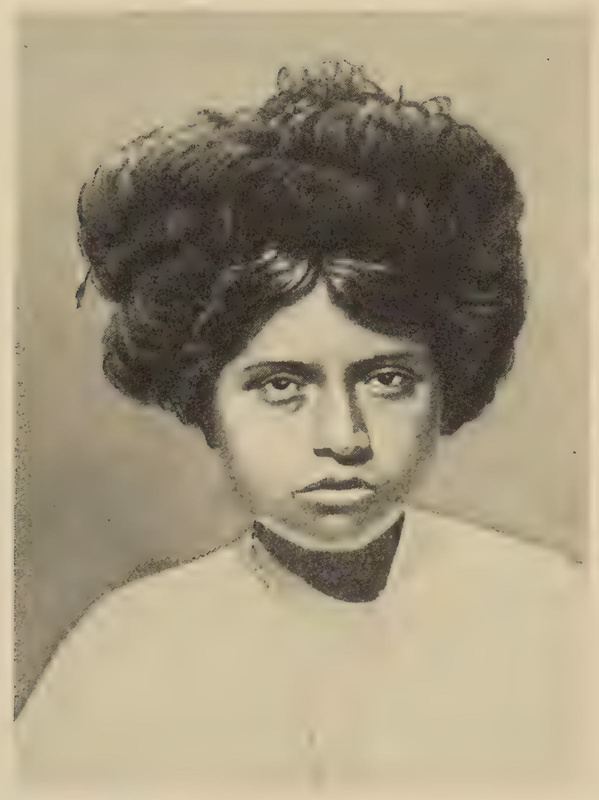

Fig. 123.

Zapotecan Girl from the State of Oaxaca. Wearing a turban-like headdress of yarn. (After Spinden: *Ancient Civilizations in Mexico*).

related to costume bearing upon the subject, and these facts may appropriately lend themselves to some discussion here. In his book, *Elephants and Ethnologists,* (London 1924), in which he discusses the whole problem of the diffusion of culture to America, he says (p. 5): "Upon a stone monument at Copan, in Honduras, a sculptor, working several centuries before Christopher Columbus set out to discover the New World, had carved the picture of an unmistakable Indian elephant ridden by an equally characteristic *turbaned mahout*". Maudslay, who furnished the illustrations to Godman and Salvin's *Biologia Centrali-Americana* (4), -Archaeology, has the following to say concerning the costume upon the sculpture in question :

"The principal figure on the front of this Stela has much the appearance of a Chinaman. The face is bearded and has what appears to be a moustache joined into a curious ornament which hangs over the centre of the breastplate. The ears are furnished with pendants as well as with the usual ornaments through the centre of the lobe. The panel of the breastplate is ornamented with two of the symbols usually found on the girdle... The head-dress bears a strong resemblance to a turban..."

Arnold (*The American Egypt,* 1909, p. 284) writes as follows concerning the same monument : "Here, as pointed out on page 268, are carvings so strikingly Oriental that one cannot doubt their origin. The faces of the figure on the Stelæ are the faces that one can see today in Cambodia and Siam. The dress, the ornamentation, the turban shaped head-dress (found in no other carvings but these) are all purely ancient Chinese".

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(4) (1889-1902), Part II. Text. Nov. 1900 p. 43, Plates XXXIII - XXXIX.

The parenthesized statement of Arnold, regarding the turban, however, does not seem strictly true to fact, for Smith (*op. cit.* p. 102) says concerning figurines found in other localities than Copan :

"In the figurines that have been recovered from these earliest sites, more especially in Mexico, turbans of characteristically Indian type are represented. In November, 1921, Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, who recovered some of these statuettes in her own garden in Mexico City, gave an account of them to the Royal Anthropological Institute. In the course of conversation she informed me that she had shown these rough clay models to scholars familiar with the fashions of ancient India, and they had indentified the turbans as distinctive of certain regions of India. Her specimens were found under a layer of lava which is supposed to have been ejected from the volcano approximately two thousand years ago".

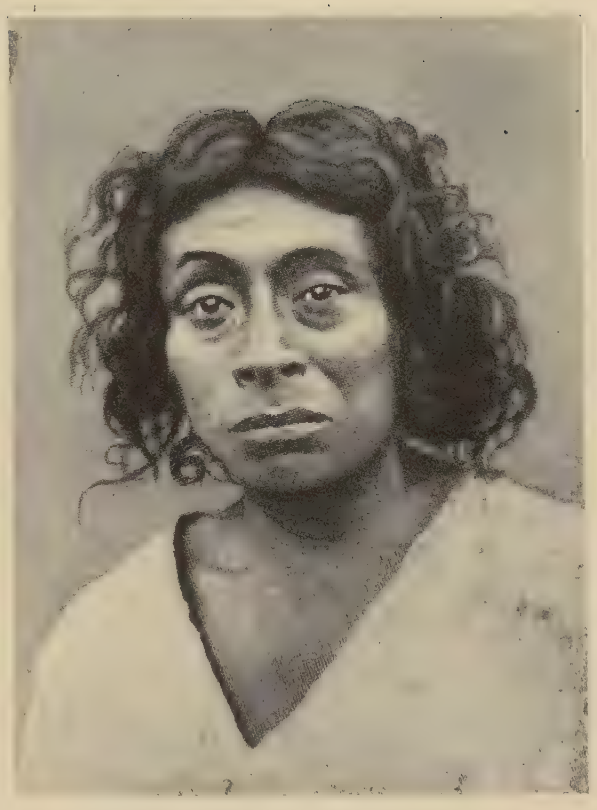

Fig. 124.

Lacandone Man from Southern Mexico.

Wavy hair is sometimes seen amongst the few members of this Mayan tribe. (*After Spinden*).

This identification of the turbans, "as distinctive of certain regions of India", is enough to make even the most credulous investigator suspicious and, if anything, it seems to cast discredit upon the theory of Dr. Smith. The turban is an extremely variable head-dress, if not from a standpoint of varying through time, at least it varies markedly geographically, almost every district displaying some distinctive form. Now, representations of the turban worn in India two thousand years ago are extremely rare. Yet, if the resemblance spoken of is admitted, it hardly appears probable that the turban having been transferred the few thousand miles which separated it from the locality of Mrs. Nuttall's garden in Mexico City, should have kept its original form in such purity that "scholars familiar with the fashions of ancient India" (whose names and sources are unfortunately, in the light of further research on so interesting a problem, not mentioned) should be able to identify it not only as a turban, but as a form characteristic of certain districts of India. In any case, turbans of distinctly Indian type were apparently not worn in America to any extent as far as historic times are concerned, and for that matter the wrapping of a piece of cloth around the head seems a sufficiently natural procedure to allow of its having been discovered separately in more than one locality (5).

But Dr. Smith does not rest his case for parallel usages upon the turban alone, for he again calls attention to them in the following statement (p. 33) : "There are scores of other features in the intricate sculpture on the Maya Stelæ that reveal not only Indian but also Indo-Chinese, Indonesian and Melanesian influence — the ear-plugs and pendants, the bracelets, the anklets, the form of the girdle (and the *Conus* shells, so distinctive of Oceania) and many of the arbitrary forms in the ornamentation, etc."

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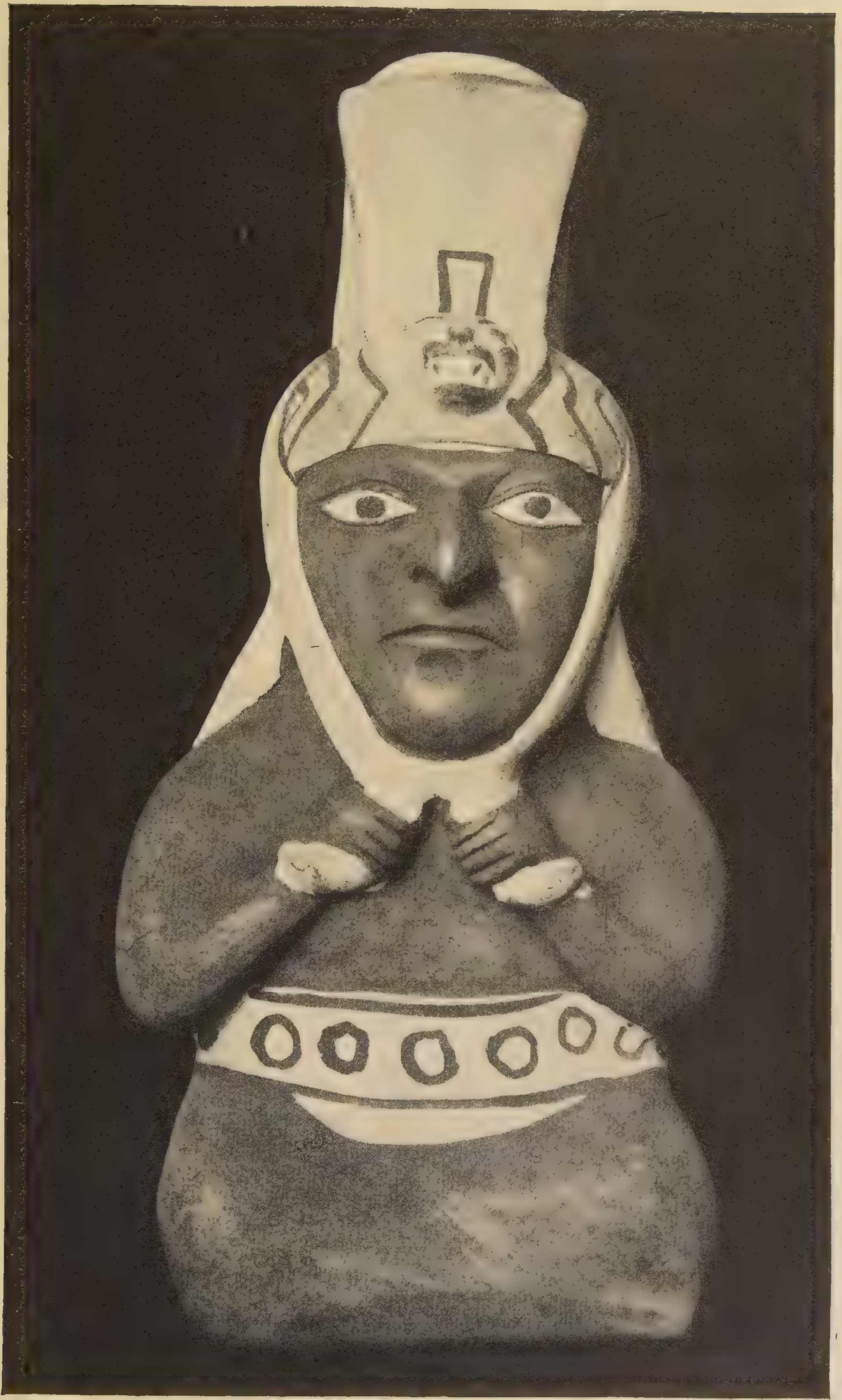
(5) See p. 216 fig. 123 "Zapotecan Girl from the State of Oaxaca, wearing a turban-like headdress made of yarn." The representation of this headdress and the girl's hair in stylized sculpture would certainly resemble a turban.



Peruvian Vase representing a painted figure wearing a turban (from *L'Art Précolombien.* Librairie de France).

PL. XII.

If Smith's clever and interesting theory should gain wider acceptance, which apparently depends largely upon a revision of the present chronology, still other parallels in the dress of the Eastern and Western sides of the Pacific might be shown. Among the subjects which tempt the imagination is the use of the *pintadera* on both sides, though the fact that its use is not confined to the environs of the Pacific somewhat weakens the fascination; the similarity of the feather garments of Polynesia and America, the presence of the *poncho* under the name of *tiputa* in Tahiti (6), and even the occurrence of feather head-dresses of a certain form in the Malay Archipelago, to mention but a few instances.

Dr. Paul Rivet has lately submitted further evidence tending to strengthen the plausibility of a cultural connection between Asia and America, in which he gives still other facts connected with costume to strengthen his conclusions. (Paul Rivet, *Les Origines de l'Homme Américain*, L'Anthropologie, t. XXXV, p. 292-320). His premise differs fundamentally from that of Dr. Smith, however, from a standpoint of chronology, for he says, "They (my findings) lead me also to put aside all relatively recent influence of civilized peoples of Asia, Chinese or Japanese. It is, as a matter of fact, inadmissible that the immigrants knew metals, glass, wheat, barley, rye, the wheel or writing, as

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(6) Montell, (Gosta) *Le vrai poncho ; un élément post-colombien.* Jour. Soc. Amer. Paris, nouv. série, t. XVIII, 1925, p. 173-183. Attempts to demonstrate, on an absence of the poncho in ancient reliefs, and among the textiles, as well as the absence of the word in old Spanish mss. or dictionaries, (until 1629) that this garment had a Post-Columbian origin. He favors the theory that it was adopted with the introduction of the horse into the life of the natives. Although he may be correct from a strictly technical standpoint (he makes a strong distinction between what he calls "the real poncho" characterized by the fact that it is not sewn together along the two edges at the sides, and extremely similar garments which however are sewn together in this manner), his argument seems to be too finely drawn, and to partake too much of the "splitting of a hair" to have any real bearing on the present discussion. In any case, he admits that, as a matter of fact, "it is almost certain that this garment was not created all at once (de toutes pièces), but was derived from another previously existing garment", which, by the way, seems to have been very like it in form. The poncho principle of garment making, that is to say, the principle where a garment is made of a single rectangular piece of cloth with a hole cut for the head, is extremely widespread and it seems abundantly evident that it was practised before the advent of Europeans by the Incasic and even pre-Incasic peoples of Peru (See ch. 3, p. 69).

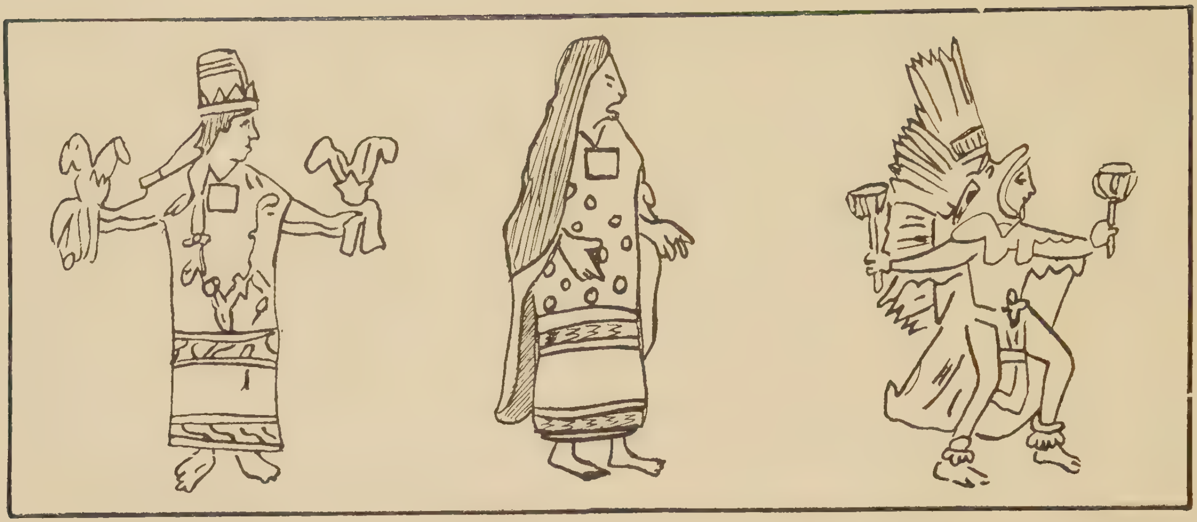

Fig. 125.

Mexican Deities (Cihuapipiltin, Iztacittuatl, Quilaztly or Cihuacoatl, etc.) After Sahagun and Friar Duran.

they did not introduce them into the new lands which they invaded". He concludes therefore, that "the most civilized of these invaders had not passed the Neolithic stage of culture" Dr. Rivet's conclusions are based upon three sorts of evidence which appear sufficiently convincing: anthropological, philological and ethnological. It is only the last sort that is of interest to the student of dress or that contains elements belonging to that province.

"From an ethnographical point of view, I will only mention the sporadic discovery of typical Melanesian or Polynesian objects in America, such as certain clubs encountered in Peru, in Colorado and among the Thinglit Indians, or the mask exhumed on the Atacaman coast... More conclusive are the facts successively brought forward by Graebner (*Die Melanesische Bogenkultur und ihre Verwandten.* Anthropos. St.-Gabriel-Mödling, t. IV, 1919, pp. 726-780-998-1032), Erland Nordenskiöld. (*Une Contribution à la Connaissance de l'Anthropogéographie de l'Amérique.* Jour. Soc. Amer. Paris, nouv. série, t. IX, 1912, pp. 19-25) and Père Schmidt, (*Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in*

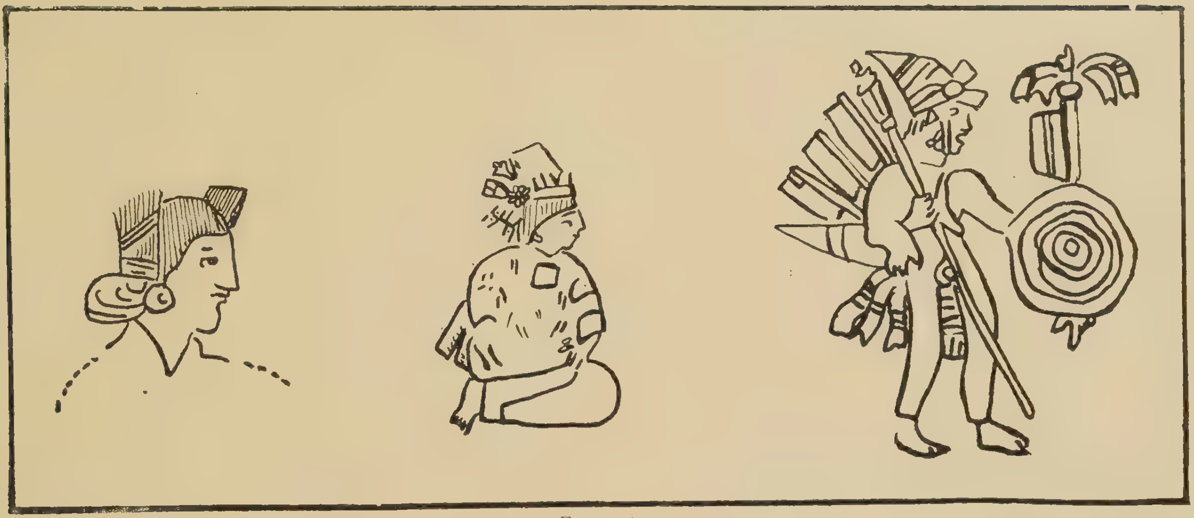

Fig. 126.

Mexican Deities (Cihuapipiltin, Iztacittuatl, Quilaztly or Cihuacoatl, etc.)
After Sahagun and Friar Duran.

Südamerika. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin, t. XLV, 1913, pp. 1014-1124). Even in eliminating certain resemblances which do not appear to be sufficiently convincing, there remains in the works of these authors, an *ensemble* of entirely remarkable concordances between American and Malayo-Polynesian ethnography".

To mention only the things relating to costume from among this list, attention may be called to the following:

Masked ritual dances.

"The instruments which in Malaysia, in Melanesia and in Polynesia are used to beat the bark of the *Morus papyrifera* and other trees to make clothing are encountered on the Northwest coast of North America, in Central America, in Venezuela, in Colombia, among the Indians of the Upper Rio Negro, the Karadza of Araguaya and a certain number of tribes of the upper Maderia. They are still used in Mexico to beat the bark of the *Morus niger* and a species of *Ficus* employed for the fabrication of paper".

"Dental mutilation (consisting of incrusting in the incisors and sometimes in the canines and the first molars, little cylindrical blocks of copper, gold, or mother-of-pearl), is practised throughout the Malay Archipelago ; and one finds it occurring in Mexico, and in the south of Yucatan, with the only difference that the materials employed for the incrustation are, in America, silex, hematite, jade, obsidian, emerald, and turquoise".

"Shells play in Malayo-Polynesia, as in America, a double social rôle of extreme importance; they serve as an offering to the divinities and as a means of exchange." (And, of course, also play an important part in dress).

Rivet goes on to note the parallel usages of the pudendal sheath in Melanesia and South America, and the process of painting fibres called *ikatten* closely related to what contemporary costume designers and workers in *batik* call "knot dyeing", which is, or was, practised in South America in more than one locality as well as in Malaysia.* Nor should it be forgotten that the strange and very ancient practice of amputating the phalanges as a sign of mourning or for other reasons, has a similar geographic range, as has been mentioned. (Chap. 3, pp. 99-100).

Rivet's theory, taken as a whole, seems more than plausible, as it is backed by significant factual evidence in the form of linguistic and anatomical parallelisms singularly coinciding and hardly explicable upon any other grounds than those of a contact between the two or more milieus under discussion.

Dr. Smith's theory, while intriguing, is less well established, and it seems more probable that any contacts which occurred were as remote as the Neolithic period. As far as dress is concerned, the evidence must be left as stated, and the reader is advised to draw no conclusions, although these theories were given for their potential value in developing a "point of view" in the study of costume, without which it would be the superficial subject it is unfortunately too often considered. Yet to an artist there certainly seems something remarkably Asiatic about

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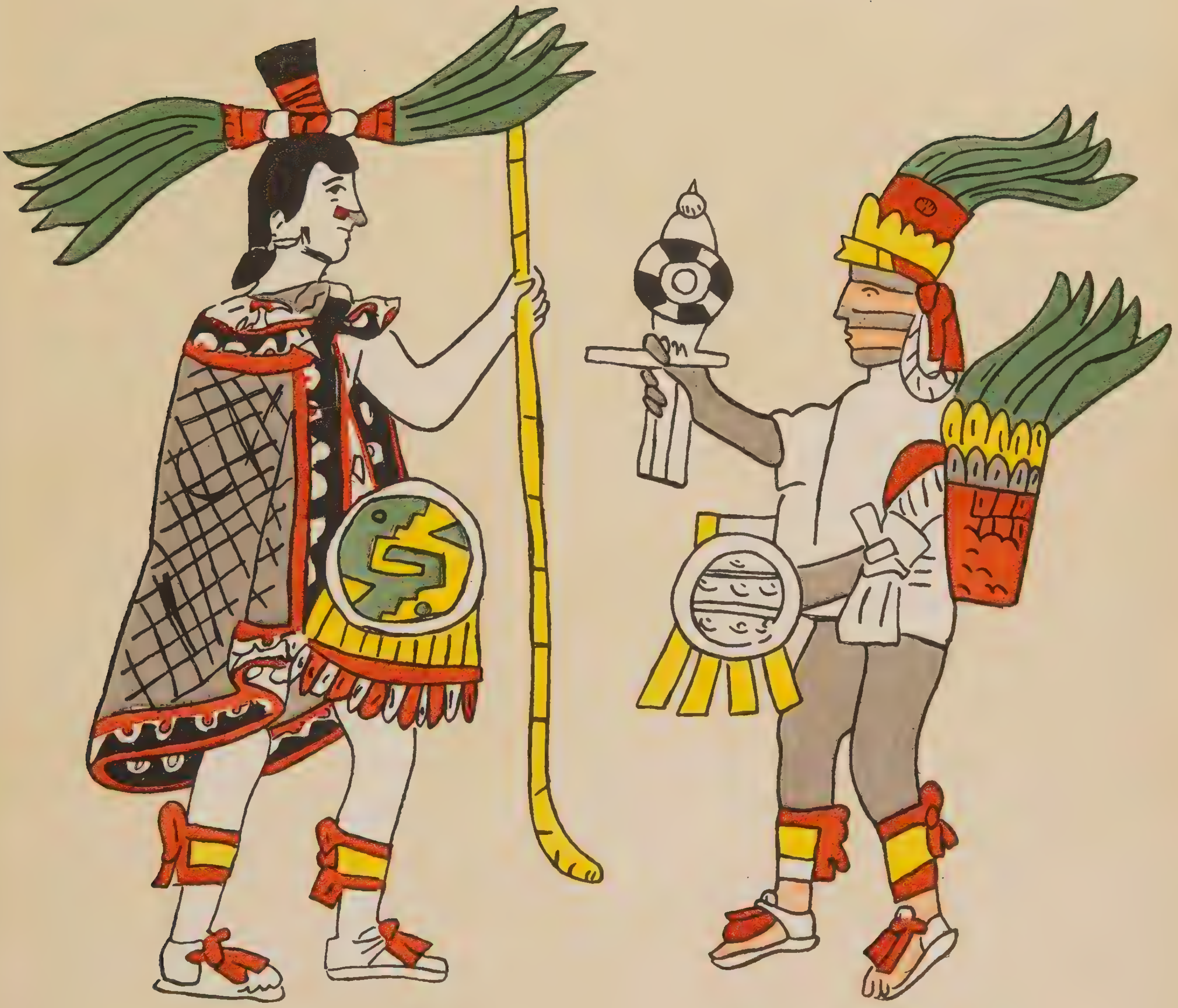
* The great centre was Guatemala.



THE AZTEC GODS TEZCATLIPOCA AND YACATECUTTLI

from SAHAGUN

these American civilizations, something which is certain to be felt by the initiate upon even a casual comparison of certain phases of their culture — for instance, a comparison of the styles and sculptural treatments of the plastic art of Central America and that of the Island of Bali.

Even such a conservative and cautious mind as that of Dr. Rivet admits certain possibilities which he refrains from mentioning; for, in the conclusion of his article from which I have so freely quoted, he says:

"There are in America certain archæological facts which do not seem to lend themselves to an explanation by an internal evolution of the civilizations brought by the ethnic elements which I have defined. The Maya civilization, for example, appears to me to have a different origin. It is to be hoped that some day philology will furnish the key to the enigma which this strange civilization exhibits to investigators. The results obtained up to the present writing authorize this hope."

Leaving this intriguing question with the foregoing brief presentation of current opinions as to a possible origin of the civilizations treated in this chapter, another situation little less complex presents itself in connection with the distribution of culture as confined to its spread in the Western Hemisphere. There is the question as to the relative influence of the Toltecs and the invading Nahuan Confederacy in the civilization which the Spaniards found in Mexico. Did the Aztecs bring with them arts developed in British Columbia, as the striking resemblance exhibited in the art forms of the two localities tend to indicate, or must a common origin be found? Did the civilizations of America develop in Central America and spread north to Mexico and south to Peru? Was there ever communication between the Mexican and Peruvian civilizations? These and similar inquiries must be ignored for lack of space, the costume of each being treated separately and for purposes of convenience, beginning with Mexico and working south towards Peru. In a study of these civilizations, however, one is struck more by the differences which set them apart and separate them than by the more numerous and infinitely more important similarities which they display. The former appear natural and are taken as a matter of course; the latter, while more subtle and less apparent on the surface, are nevertheless very real and hold possibilities of great significance.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION. — The sources through which the ancient American civilizations may be studied fall into two main groups: first, historical, which includes the native manuscripts generally known as codices, and the early accounts of the Spanish invaders who were eye-witnesses of the death struggle and subsequent extinction of these civilizations. Second, archæological, including objects in the form of statues, ruins and divers finds in connection with burials, etc. In order that these sources may be appreciated at approximately their true value the historian and archæologist must work in the closest collaboration and, from time to time, call other sciences to their aid for the solution of certain problems as they arise.

If the study of costume is taken as an example, it will readily be seen that the various sources react and control each other. When a certain garment is mentioned by the Spanish chroniclers and described by them, and is subsequently found to be represented in indigenous records — say upon bas-reliefs, statuettes, and in the codices — an extremely clear idea of this garment, its development and uses is thus obtained. If the evidence agrees (as unfortunately it quite frequently fails to do), there is little doubt as to the authenticity of any of the mutually corroborative sources. On the other hand, any of these sources taken alone must be handled with extreme caution, except in the case when an actual garment of undoubted age is found in good condition. The manuscripts of the Spaniards were not only written by untrained and partial observers, but they were, as often as not, composed with an eye on the Spanish Court, which their writers desired to astonish and interest by the importance of the discoveries made by themselves or their superiors. With this end in view, it is hardly surprising that they were guilty of an occasional gross exaggeration.

Pre-Columbian native documents are rare, many of them having been destroyed for religious reasons. Their deciphering is difficult and often open to discussion. The representations of clothed personages which they include are not only extremely stylized, but they are accompanied by attributes which, while they may easily be taken to be a part of their costume, may represent certain symbols quite apart from any realistic interpretation — having a meaning in the codices but no connection with any costume that was ever worn by living mortal. The statuettes — anthropomorphic pottery, bas-reliefs, etc. — on which costume is represented, are similarly open to objection on the ground of stylization, as well as to the well-known tendency of artists, especially of those in question, to make realism subservient to the technique inherent in the material at hand as well as to decorative exigencies.

THE CIVILIZATION IN MEXICO. — The beginnings of the Mexican civilization have until recently been obscured in the mists of legend and conjecture, which scientific methods are slowly but surely dissipating. The burden of opinion today may briefly be summarized as follows : The ancient population of Mexico is generally divided into two groups, called for convenience, Mexicans and Non-Mexicans. . The more ancient Non-Mexicans (7) were perhaps autochthonous and apparently had not reached as high a degree of culture as has been formerly supposed. The

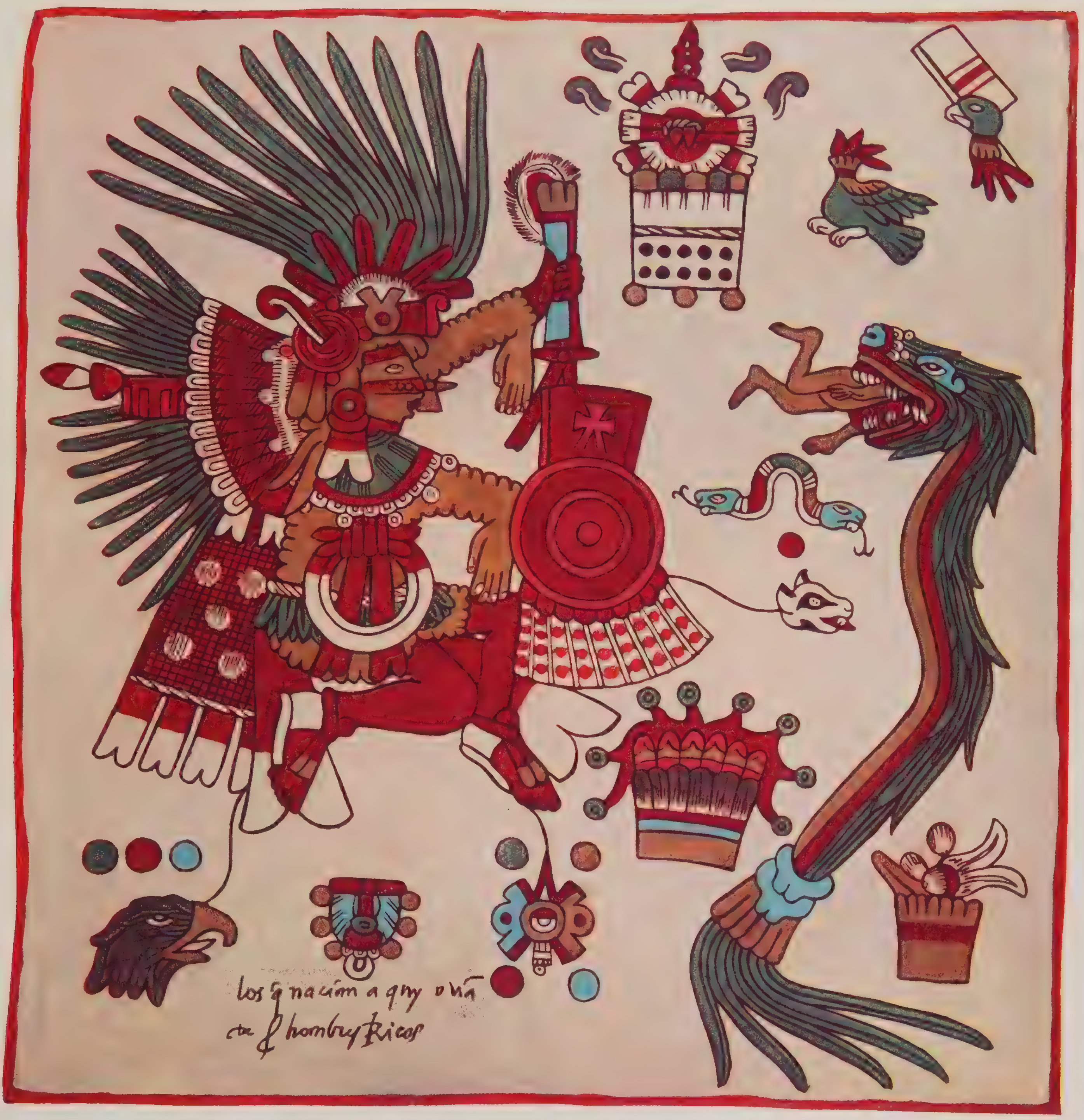
(7) Among the non-Mexicans can be numbered the tribes of the Mexican plateau ; Otomis, Olmaques, Mixteco-Tzapoteques, Totonaques, Tarasques. (Given in the order of their geographical position from north to south) and further south, the Mayas.

Mexicans, including the Toltecs, who appear to have furnished the great civilizing influences, came from the North. They consisted of two groups, the Nahuas speaking *nahuat,* to whom the Toltecs belonged, and the Nayuatlacas, speaking *nahuatl,* of whom the Aztecs are the best known representatives. These latter, from humble beginnings, gradually succeeded in making the surrounding tribes more or less tributary, and formed the powerful confederation which Cortez encountered.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. — The Nahuas, as the peoples of the Aztec confederacy were called, were living in a state of organization formed upon a foundation of the clan and phratry of the more primitive American Indians. This was modified by changed social conditions resulting from a settled agricultural community, as contrasted with a more barbaric nomadic society (8).

At the time of the Spanish conquest, their government was in the form of an elective monarchy. Functionaries dealing with civil and military affairs were separated, but the fact that military service was compulsory and universal prevented the establishment of a military caste in the true sense of the term. The economic organization was more communistic than socialistic, but even if the interference with the form of government brought about by the advent of the Spanish is assumed never to have taken place, it appears that there was a tendency towards the formation of an aristocracy through the enrichment of certain families, which would probably have led, in time, to feudalism. Inheritance, as might be expected in an agricultural community, was patriarchal succeeding the matriarchal form common in the more unsettled nomadic societies. The position of women, while better than that existing in the less civilized communities, was definitely inferior to that of the men.

(8) The word *Nahuatlaca* means those who live in accordance with a settled rule of life.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PRINCIPAL SUBJECT FROM A PAGE OF *CODEX BORBONICUS.*
(Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés. Paris).

Economic manifestations. — Clothing and ornament played an extremely important rôle in the Aztec confederacy. From an economic standpoint, Pre-Columbian Mexico, as well as the other American civilizations, was at an interesting point of development for the study of economic-social manifestations in connection with clothing and the place it occupied in the human psychology at different cultural stages.

The Mexicans had definitely passed into the predatory barbarian stage where the wealth of the individual was directly proportional to the repute in which he was held by his fellow men. Yet there were many psychological survivals from more primitive stages of society which manifested themselves more strongly among the Aztecs (9) than among other peoples in a comparable stage of civilization, the ancient Chinese, or the Aegeans of the Copper Age. In the case of the Aztecs, this wealth was stressed upon the person of the individual himself, rather than in the more subtle and indirect maner in which it was expressed in more highly evolved societies, where it was exhibited upon the persons of women or retainers connected with the wealthy or powerful individual. A clear example of this may be seen in the method employed for differentiating between the ranks of the personages represented in the codices.

The gods, being highest of all in rank, are very elaborately dressed and thus may be easily recognized, while the different ranks are marked by distinctive costumes, from the *icpalli,* supreme chief of the Mexican confederation, to the simply dressed warrior.

In Mexico, the merchants (*pochteca*) were a singularly important and honoured class. They carried trade beyond the boundaries of the Aztec sphere of influence and any interference with their activities was made the pretext for a war of conquest, (or, in the case where the enemy was so strong that this procedure might not prove a paying proposition, an alliance). These conquests usually resulted in the paying of tribute on the part of the conquered. Raw cotton was a favored form of payment.

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(9) The term Aztec is here used to designate any members of the Nahuan tribes forming the confederacy.

"The cotton district of Quahanhuac was overrun and divided among the allies" says Spence, (*The Civilization of Ancient Mexico*)," ...whilst gold and precious stones formed the contributions of the (tributary) Mixtecs and Zapotecs".

Wealth also was displayed by the Mexican upper classes, as exemplified by what Veblen calls "the canon of wasted effort". The better the economic position of the wearer, the finer the weave and quality of the cloth which made up his garments. The Mexicans had no money in the sense of a fixed and arbitrary medium of exchange, although the idea of using metals for trade had already germinated and lacked only development. Articles of apparel therefore played a very important part in commercial transactions. The value of these articles was largely increased if "they gave evidence of an expenditure of labor in excess of what would give them their fullest efficiency for their ostensible economic end". An excellent example exists in the feather cloaks which were "undeniably beautiful, both in the sense that they offer a pleasing composition of form, lines and colour, and in the sense that they evince great skill and ingenuity in design and construction. At the same time they are manifestly ill-fitted to serve any other economic purpose. But it is not always that the evolution of ingenious and puzzling contrivances under the guidance of the canon of wasted effort works out so happy a result". (Veblen. *op. cit.* p. 152, *et seq.*)

The Aztecs were sufficiently near to the primitive aesthetics, as they exist apart from economic complications, for their dress to be an excellent and beautiful index to that peculiar admixture of savagery and civilization which formed their characteristic culture stage.

Fabrics. — The Aztecs knew neither wool nor silk nor linen, yet they possessed a sufficient number of materials to make admirable fabrics of several sorts. The most important of these was cotton. Agave or *maguey* fibres, and those furnished by a dwarf species of palm, called *iczotl,* together with the hair of rabbits and other animals, complete the short list. The agave played a rôle similar to that played by cotton in Europe, while cotton took the place wool occupied in Europe.

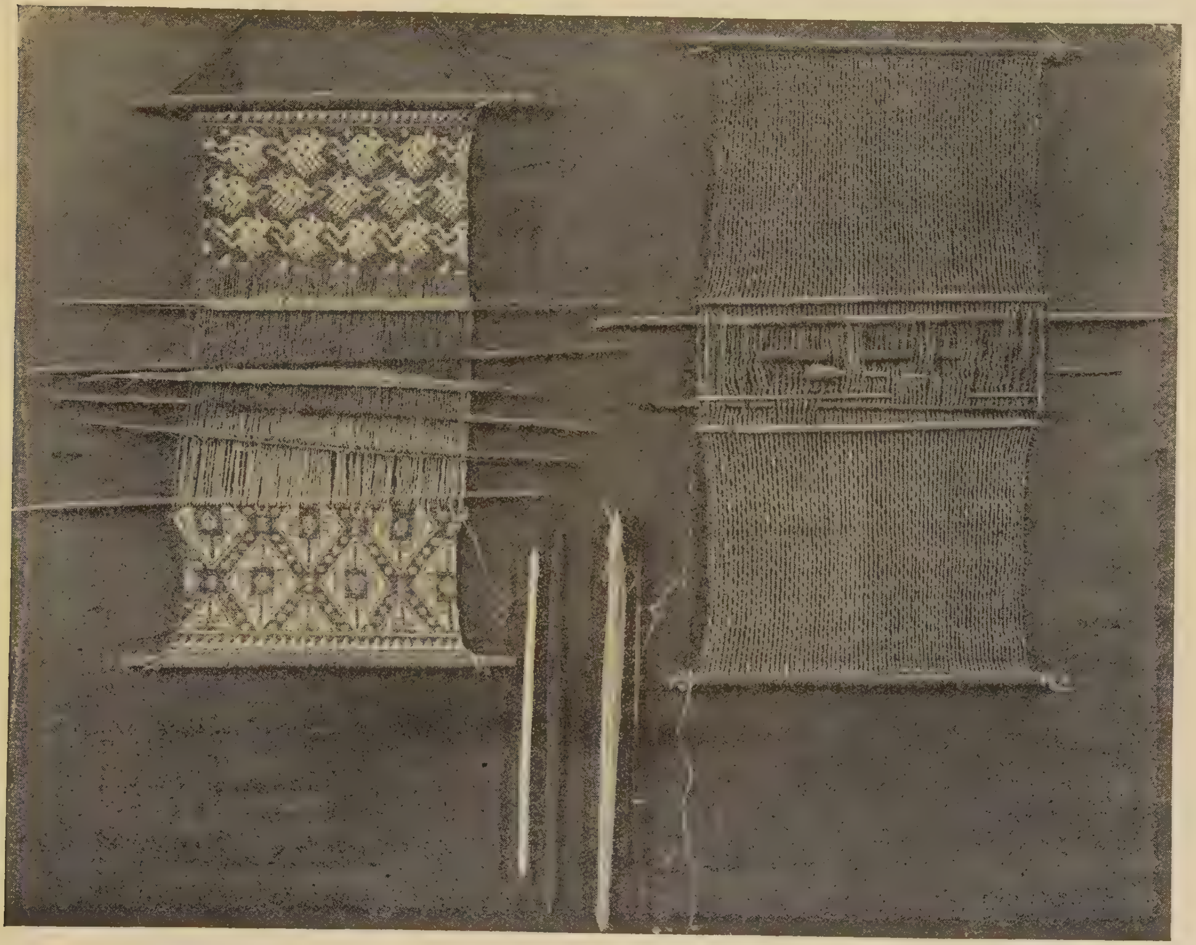

Fig. 127.
Primitive Looms
of the Huichol Indians of Mexico.
(Photo Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.)

The loom was of an extremely primitive sort. At each end were two cross pieces which held the warp, the threads of which were separated in pairs by means of a flat, wooden reglet which could slide from one end of the loom to the other. The threads forming the woof were wound on little wooden shuttles, pointed at their two extremities.

With this apparatus, the Mexicans made surprisingly fine fabrics. Cortez mentions cotton, which could only be distinguished from silk by the touch. Dyeing was carried to a high degree of perfection, and both vegetable and mineral substances were employed for this purpose. Cochineal was one of the principal dye-stuffs and yielded a beautiful red. Other reds were extracted from various plants and from the *achiotl* (*Bixa orellana*). Indigo furnished a dark blue, while the greens were obtained from the carbonates and acetates of copper.

When the Aztecs captured the Mixtec city of *Nochtiztlan* they demanded as annual tribute a certain quantity of cochineal.

Delicate designs were executed in mosaics of feathers, which were first carefully assorted according to colour. Gradations and half-tones of colour were obtained by placing one shade over another in such a fashion that the colour underneath would show through to a certain extent. The larger feathers, which formed the foundation, were attached to the cloth which held them in place with thread, the smaller feathers forming the half tones being glued to them. The art of feather work has been preserved in Mexico until well into the nineteenth century. Unfortunately the climate of Mexico is not as dry as either that of Egypt or Peru, and therefore fewer actual fabrics have been preserved.

GARMENTS. — The principal and most universally worn garment of the men consisted of a sort of loin cloth called *maxtlatl* which was worn longer by the upper than by the lower classes. Among the lower classes this was made of a coarse white stuff

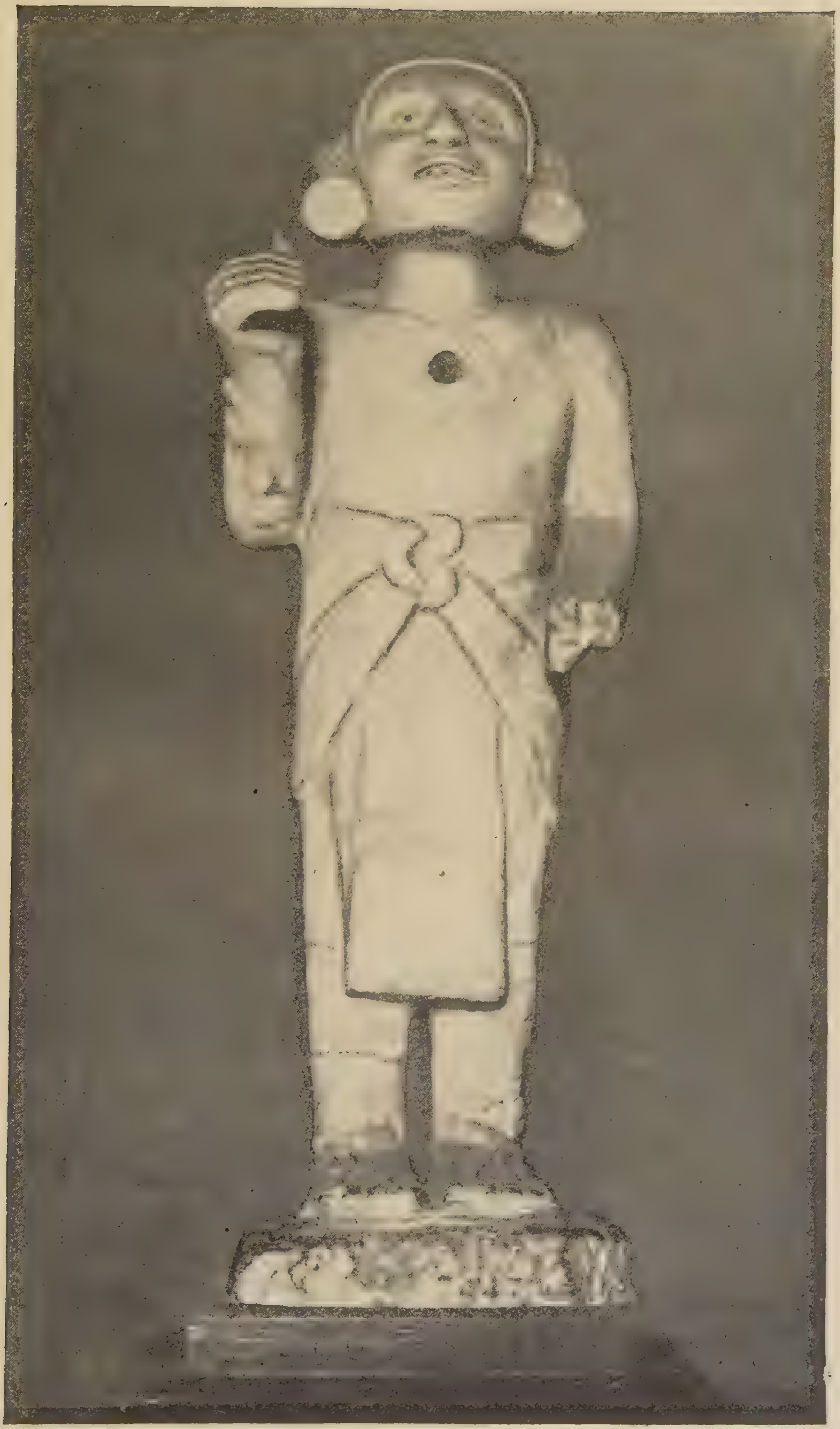

Fig. 128.

Mexican Statue with a Typical Loin Cloth
from *L'Art Précolombien* (Librairie de France).

woven of aloe fibre called *nequem.* Next in importance was the mantle descending from the shoulders to the knees, called *tilmatle* (or *tilmatli*). Women wore a long, coarsely woven smock-like garment, *hupilli,* and one or more skirts of varying lengths, *cueitl.* As has been remarked, the clothing varied according to the social position of the wearer, but this variation was more a matter of quality, quantity and ornamentation, than of form (10). This point is brought out by Sahagun in his *Historia,* in which he describes the costume of the princes, *tecuhtin,* (part 5) and "noble women". Although the garment forms appear to have been universal they were often ornamented with rich and intricate embroidery, deep fringes, and tassels. Mantles of feather work or fur were worn during the colder weather or ceremonially. The hair usually was allowed to hang loosely over the shoulders (11) and veils were never used. Occasionally the women wore long loose and flowing robes. Sandals were the universal foot-gear.

ORNAMENT. — Painting of the body and face was widely practised in Mexico and figures quite frequently in the codices.

(10) "The dress of the poor people was made of the thread of the maguei, or mountain palm, or, at best, the cloth of coarse cotton ; but these of better station wore the finest cotton, embellished with various colours, and figures of animals or flowers, or woven with feathers, the fine hair of the rabbit, and adorned with various little figures of gold, and loose locks of cotton hanging about the girdle or *maxtlatl.* The men used to wear two or three mantles, and the women three or four vests and as many gowns, putting the longest undermost, so that a part of each of them might be seen. The lords wore in winter waistcoats of cotton interwoven with soft feathers or the hair of the rabbit. Women of rank wore, besides the *huepilli,* an upper vest, something like the surplice or gown of our ecclesiastics, but larger and with longer sleeves. Their shoes were nothing but soles of leather or coarse cloth of the maguei, tied with strings, and only covered the under part of the foot. The kings and lords adorned the strings with rich ribbons of gold and jewels". (Clavigere, bk., vii, ch. 66. "*The History of Mexico,* 1870, trans. by Charles Cullen, London, 1787).

(11) Sahagun (Bernardo de Sahagun, *Historia de las Cosas de Nueva-Espana*), cites other types of wearing the hair including the "civil", which was formed by shaving the head leaving only a vertical tuft above the forehead, and the "military" with which the right side was left "the warrior's tuft" in the form of a brush. The so-called "temple maidens" wore their hair very short, while the women of the higher ranks made two braids in the form of horns, allowing the ends to cross on the forehead.

Traditional forms, changing according to the ceremonial with which they were associated, were used, but each individual seems to have had forms of his own. The *pintadera* was used in connection with the application of designs to different parts of the body. Mexican women applied a yellow powder to the face and printed designs in dark red upon this foundation with the *pintadera.* They tattooed, using indigo. They coloured their teeth, which they filed to a point, with some dark pigment, often carmine.

The Aztecs were remarkable jewellers, but the habit of the Spaniards, who melted down all the gold they could lay hands on, has left very few actual specimens by which the full extent of their ability as goldsmiths may be judged. Their stone-cutting was excellent. They worked in rock-crystal, jasper, jadeite and other hard stones, yet with this remarkable technique the forms employed varied but little. It seems probable that they may have been governed by tradition in this matter, for other artistic activities display no lack of imagination. Nose and lip ornaments of hard stone, and even a few in the precious metals, have been found in abundance. The labret or *tentetl* was the most popular. It was usually in the shape of a little cylinder, enlarged at the base. Crescent-shaped nose ornaments were called *yacametzli,* which means, appropriately, "moon of the nose".

MILITARY DRESS AND CASTE AS SEEN IN THE CODICES. — There is some discussion as to the interpretation of the drawings representing dress in the codices. As the personages are so elaborately costumed, it has been claimed to be extremely unlikely that the costumes, for practical reasons, could have been actually worn as represented. Eduard Seler, (*Ancient Mexican Feather Ornaments,* Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, 1898 p. 44, Bur. Amer. Eth. Bull. 28, *Mexican Antiquities,* p. 59), is in favour of giving a literal interpretation to these bizarre war dresses for, he says :

"The Mexicans did not consider (such) practical points of view. The armour which the more prominent warriors assumed for battle was the dress of a deity of whose power they became possessed when they put on his array, and to be assured of this power was probably the first 'practical point of view' for the Mexicans".

Seler's theory is interesting. It bears upon possibilities connected with war costume and the wearer's ego in general. It is not necessarily confined to Mexico. For the present, exact interpretation of the manuscripts is hazardous and uncertain at best, a fact which the reader would do well to bear in mind during the discussion which follows.

Seler (*Altamerikanischer Schmuck und Soziale und Militarische Rangabzeichen,* Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, ZE, vol. XXI pp. 69-83 and XIII, pp. 144) (12) goes into the subject of the emblems, hierarchic and religious, employed by the Mexicans in a similar manner to that in vogue during the Middle Age, to distinguish the rank, exploits, blood, etc. of an individual. His studies are based mainly on the narrative of Sahagun, *The List of Tribes* (Peñafiel), and the *Codex Mendoza.* From his conclusions, it would appear that all upper class Mexican dress of both sexes was governed by sacerdotal-heraldic rules and usages, certain objects being assigned to certain families or individuals as insignia denoting more or less precisely their social privileges and status. Many otherwise inexplicable pieces of costume are explained in this way.

A simple example of symbolism in Mexican dress is given by Spence (*op. cit.*) in describing the clothing of the rain god, Tlaloc, whose robe was "crossed with ribbons of silver typifying mountain

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(12) Compare Piedrahita, L. Fernandez de, *Historia del Nuevo Reyno de Granada,* bk. II, chp. 8.

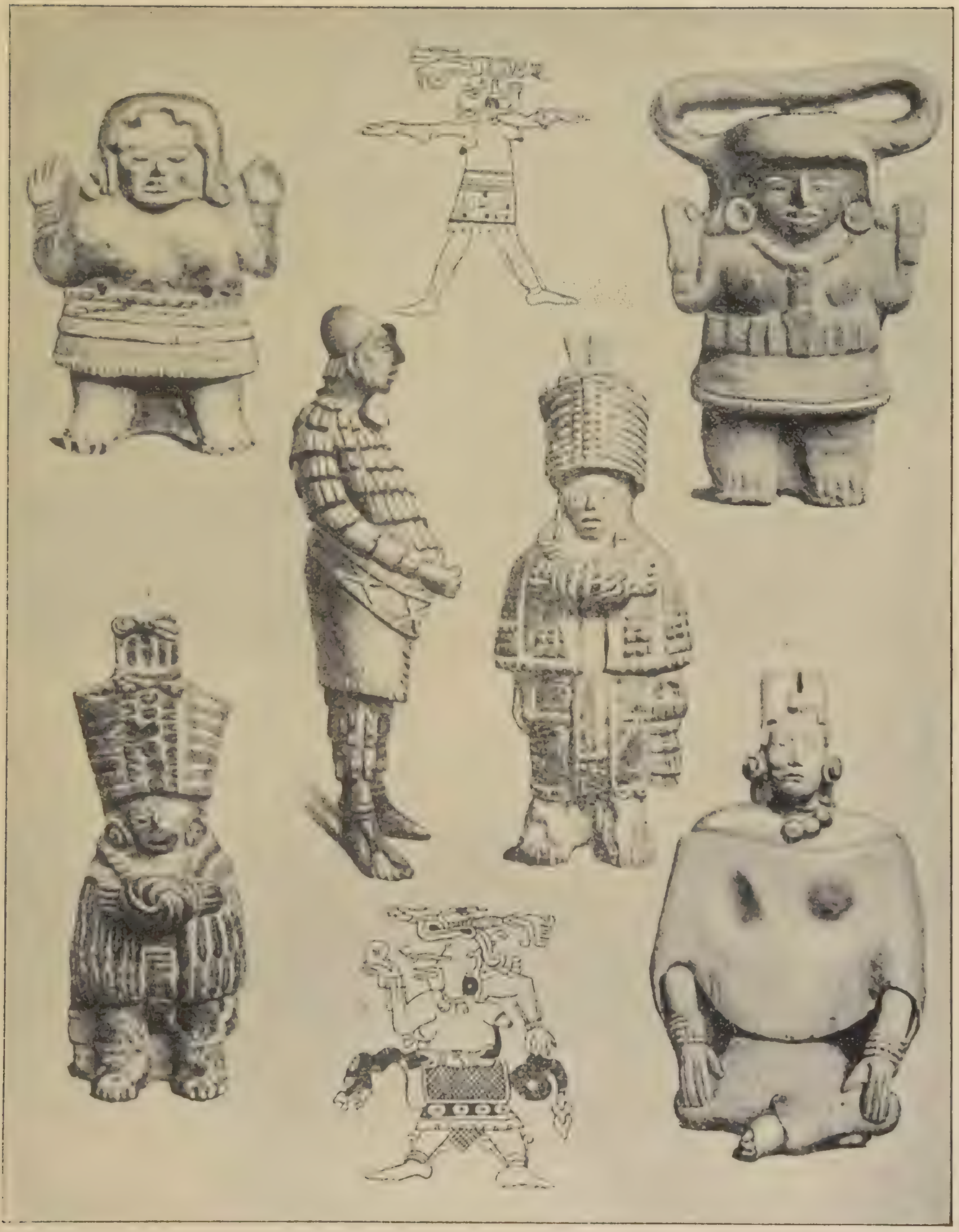

Fig. 129.

Costume Plastically Represented on Mayan Antiquities.
(Courtesy Smithsonian Ins.)

torrents, and decorated with feathers of yellow, green, red, and blue, symbolic of the four cardinal points.

The capture of prisoners for sacrificial purposes, which was considered one of the most important objects of warfare, was stimulated by the creation of a military order. The members wore special uniforms, which varied according to the number of victims they could boast.

"Those who had only one prisoner to their credit", says Spence, "were plainly clothed, wearing no distinctive headdress, and carrying a plain shield. The dress became more ornate with each additional captive, and when the number reached six, the successful soldier attained the rank of Ocelot-Eagle, wearing an ocelot skin, richly plumed, as a helmet".

High officers were distinguished by magnificent and elaborate costume and accoutrements. The wealthier ones wore armour of thin plaques of gold or silver, which advantageously replaced the more common corselets of two thicknesses of padded cotton.

Wooden helmets of fantastic forms, or the heads of animals, feathered, gilded and inlaid precious materials, added to the rich and formidable appearance obtained by the glitter of elaborate necklaces and other jewellery in the form of labrets, earrings, and nose pieces.

Montezuma had certain garments delegated to him which no one else might wear. Mexican dress in general repays the somewhat wearying study of its almost never ending symbolic complications by showing a possible route through which costume developed from the primitive symbolism of the Indian clan to the complicated heraldry of mediæval Europe.

THE MAYAS. — The Spanish found the Mayas in a state of complete regression in the sixteenth century, although their ancestors seem from certain points of view to have had the most evolved form of civilization that had yet existed in the Western

Hemisphere. The real causes of its fall remain unknown, and the past of the Maya peoples is veiled in obscurity (13). The interpretation of some of the monuments, however, is fortunately possible and points to a Toltec influence. They have been classified according to age and it is estimated that between the dates of the oldest and newest of these monuments a period of about 560 years intervened. As the locality of the most recent monument had been inhabited for several centuries before the advent of the Spaniards, it might date somewhere around the seventh century, when the civilization of the Old Toltecs was at its height. The social organization of the Mayas is little better known than their history, but seems to have been based upon a totemic clan system and to have been similar, generally considered, to that of the Mexicans.

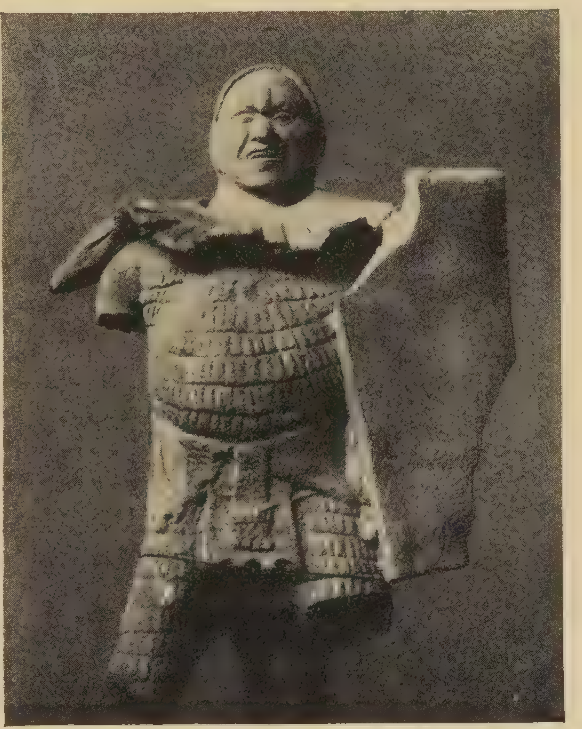

Fig. 130.
Maya Warrior

Costume. — The Mayas, like the Mexicans, wore a sort of breech cloth, called *ex*, which means, — according to Pro Perez — "breeches" in the Maya of today.

This is described by Landa (*Relacion*, chap. 20) as a "girdle of the width of a man's hand, which served them as breeches and hose (*bragas y calcas*) and which they bound about their loins several times in such a fashion that one end hung down in front and the other behind". These ends were ornamented with embroidery and feather work. Over this was worn a large square mantle which Cogolludo (*Historia de Yucatan*) says was called *zuyen*. It was fastened on the shoulder. This cloak however appears but rarely on the personages represented in the manuscripts or on clay figurines, which generally have the upper part of the body nude, and it should therefore be considered as a special garment only worn by certain persons and then, perhaps, reserved for special occasions. Furthermore, the cloaks represented in the Codex Troano-Cortesianas and in the Dresden Codex, are not square (as they usually are in the Mexican manuscripts) but oval, and they are not always fastened at the

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(13) "At the time of the conquest", says Harcourt, (*l'Amérique avant Colomb*, p. 20) "the inhabitants of Yucatan, while dispersed, still formed a perfectly distinct ethnic group; one distinguishes to the West the Huateques of Vera Cruz and of Tamaulipas, in Yucatan and Chiapas the Mayas properly called, and in Guatemala, the Quiches".

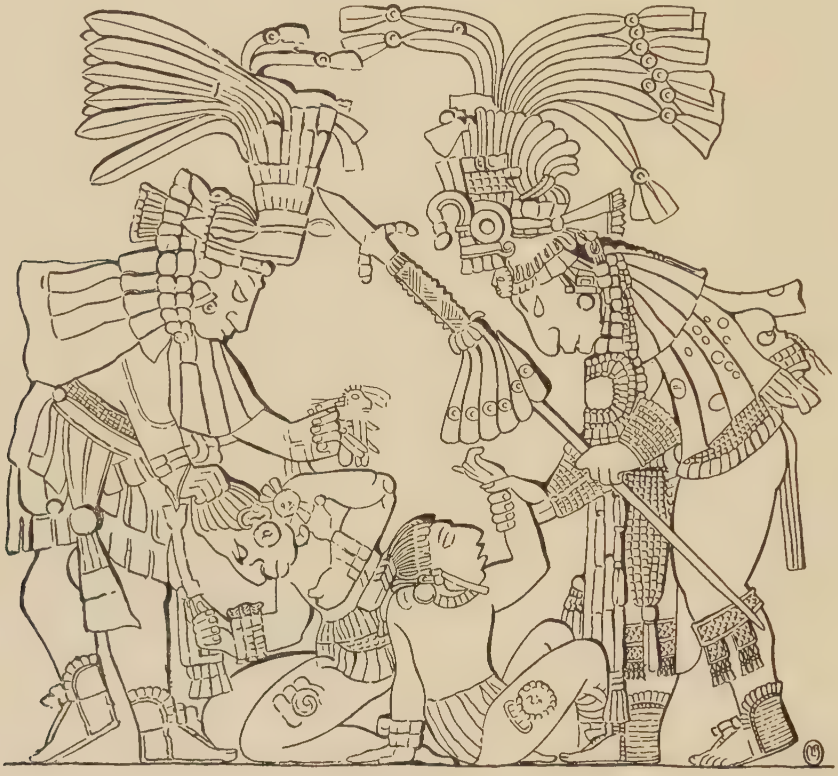

Fig. 131.

"The Capture"

(Museum Journal vol. IX).

shoulders, but either at the front or the back of the neck, so that the mantle sometimes falls over the back and sometimes over the breast. In the manuscripts the hems are always edged with fringe, and the cloaks decorated with gay patterns (14).

"It seems possible", says Schellhas (*Comparative Studies in the Field of Maya Antiquities,* Bull. Amer. Ethn. N° 28) "that this article of dress is identical with the cotton cloths mentioned by Cogolludo (*op. cit.*), called *tilmas* or *hayates,* which were used as covers by night and cloaks by day. The description, according to which the latter were richly ornamented and adorned with various colours, corresponds very well with the representations in the codices. On the other hand this idea is contradicted by the fact that such garments are represented so seldom and apparently only as garments of state and religious ceremonies".

"It may be interesting to note that these cloaks are not represented on the Yucatec reliefs or in any other Central American ruins. The garments for the upper part of the body were quite different in nature and often impossible to recognize so far as their shape is concerned".

The women were highly complimented by Landa, Cogolludo and Herrera for both their modesty and deportment (15). Their

(14) In Guatemala, says Juarros (*A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala,* 1808-1818, trans. by J. Bailly, London, 1823, p. 193) "The nobles wore a dress of white cotton, dyed or stained with different colours, the use of which was prohibited to the other ranks... This vestment... reached to the knees, and was ornamented with a species of embroidery. The legs were bare ; the feet protected by sandals, fastened over the instep, and at the heel by thongs of leather... The waist was girded by a piece of cloth... fastened in a knot before ; over the shoulders was thrown a white mantle".

(15) Uricoechea (*Memoria sobre las Antiguedades Neo-Granadinas.* Berlin 1854, pp. 24-5) remarks concerning the Chibchas, that "The inhabitants of that province appeared more civilized in the eyes of the chroniclers, because they went about dressed, either from the feeling of shame, or what is more certain, on account of the climate... while in the valleys it was more comfortable to go naked... They wore a sort of coat or tunic, reaching a little below the knees, and made generally of cotton, from which they wove excellent cloth... These coats were generally white, but noblemen, or those who had permission, had their garments painted black or parti-coloured, thus displaying their exploits or their wealth. The square mantles which served them as cloaks were also of cotton. On the head they wore casques or

dress seems to have consisted ordinarily only of a skirt which covered the body from the hips down (16). Still another article of dress is mentioned as having been in use in some parts of Yucatan to cover the upper part of the body, and Cogolludo states that their principal garment was the *yupte,* a long sack-like piece provided with holes for the head and arms and analogous to the Mexican *huipilli.* The *tilmas* or *hayates* which were used as covers by night, are also said to have been used by the women, which, "when they take long journeys, they commonly roll up and carry on their shoulders". It is surprising that neither of the above mentioned garments appears in any of the manuscripts or on the reliefs, although in Mexican manuscripts (notably the Codex Mendoza), the women often have the upper part of the body clothed. In the relief of Yucatan the skirt is represented as coming up to the breast but leaving the latter free, as was the custom in Egypt.

While Cogolludo (p. 187) says that the Mayas went barefoot, Landa contradicts this by stating that they wore sandals. In the Maya manuscripts, sandals are rarely if ever depicted, in contrast to the Mexican documents where they are almost always shown. It seems likely that if the Mayas wore sandals at all they would be found in manuscripts portraying priests, warriors and gods. Cogolludo was quite evidently speaking of the daily usage of the common people. The bare feet, which

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helmets generally made of the skin of fierce animals... adorned with feathers of all colours... The women used a square mantle called *Chircate,* and fastened it to the girdle by a broad band (called *Chumbe* or *Maure*) ; over the shoulders they wore another mantle (called *Liquira*) ; and fastened it over the breast with a large pin of gold or silver (called Topo), the head of which is like a hawk's bill, the breasts being thus covered".

(16) Called *pic,* says Cogolludo, which according to Beltran de Santa Rosa Maria, *Arte del Idioma Maya,* means fustian petticoat. Schellhas (*op. cit.*) says that the women of the lower classes appear to have been content with merely a simple cloth about the hips. These were richly decorated and seem to have been favorite subjects for the art of the Mayan weavers and dyers. In the Troana Codex, (p. 27, below) there is a representation of a skirt showing very distinct ornamentations reminiscent of the Greek classic style.

appear almost without exception in the Dresden manuscript are carefully drawn, but sandals and also complete shoes covering the foot — which are not mentioned by the Spaniards — occur in the reliefs.

"The overloaded headdress, often most fantastically exaggerated and scarcely recognizable as such, is a characteristic form of Central American representations", says Schellhas. These headdresses are most colossal in the Yucatec reliefs, where they often develop into architectural ornaments pure and simple". The line between headdress and coiffure, its grooming and adornment, in the Maya headdresses must be considered as ornaments. Apparently the women wore no headdresses which might possibly be called a part of their dress.

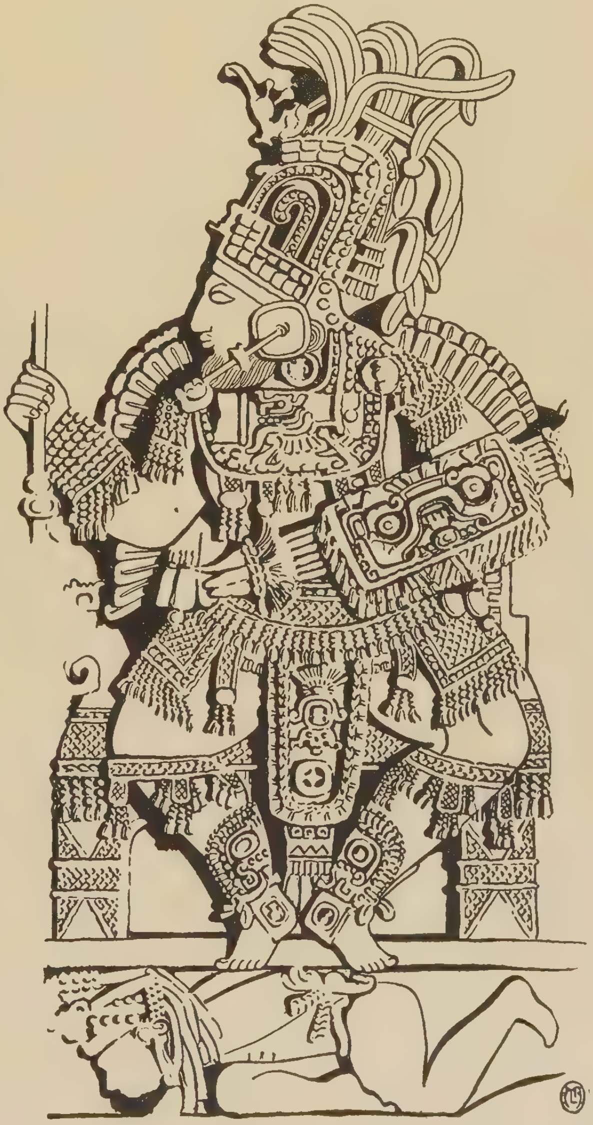


Fig. 132.

A Portrait in Relief from the Osumacinta River. Probably depicting a local governor. (Museum Journal. vol ix, p. 20).

Ornament. — The Mayas artificially deformed the skull, which process, as shown by the reliefs, was carried much farther in Guatemala than in Yucatan. A scanty growth of beard occurs in rare instance. Tattooing was customary, particularly about the mouth. The women tattooed the upper part of the body, except the breasts, bathed frequently, and rubbed their bodies with a sort of fragrant balm (*Iztahte*) which was mixed with a red colouring matter. The teeth were often filed to a point, and noses were pierced to receive ornaments.

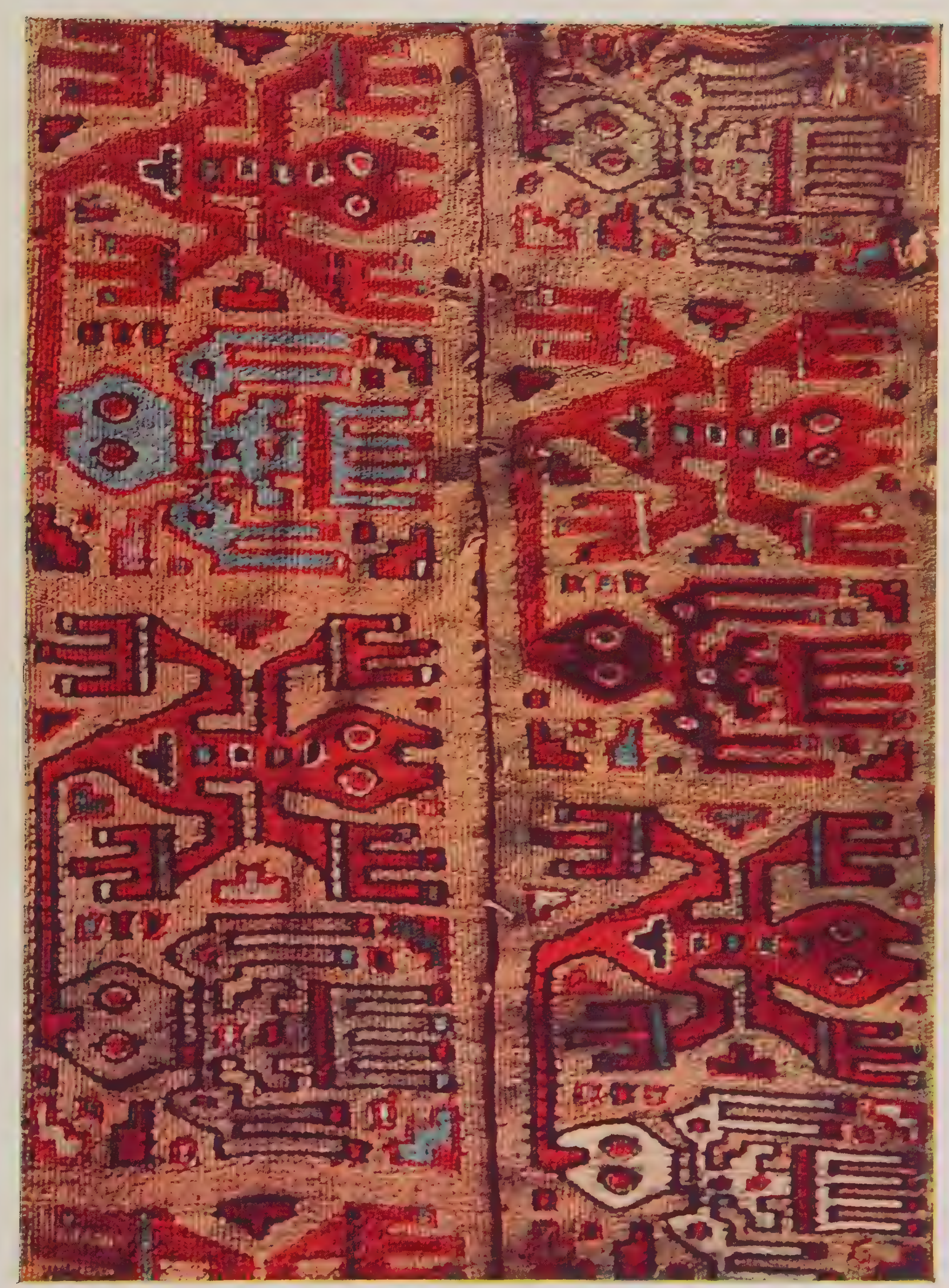
Broad and elaborate necklaces, with ornaments which almost covered the breast, sometimes give the impression that the upper part of the body was clothed. Next to the head ornaments, they were the most popular form. Necklaces of beads figure in almost all the Central American representations. The beads are of elaborate and varied shapes, and it appears that the use of necklaces must have been practically universal. Strangely enough, bead necklaces are rare in Mexican representations, and Landa fails to mention these striking and conspicuous ornaments. The necklaces are equipped with medal-shaped or locket-like pieces, or with what were apparently tassels. This sort of ornament was used by both sexes.

The necklaces seem often to have been connected with the ear ornaments, which were frequently in the form of rings.

Collars, popular with the Mexicans, occur also among the Mayas but with much less frequency than the necklaces. They are made of feathers and stand out stiffly from the neck. They do not seem to have been an every-day article of attire. In the Yucatec reliefs elaborate collars made of a softer material are shown covering the shoulders shawl-fashion, while necklaces are rarer.

Nose ornaments and rings were used. Beautifully carved pins for fastening cloaks are among the lists of jewellery eulogized by the ancient writers. "These pieces of jewellery were evidently made of precious materials", says Beuchat dryly (*Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine,* p. 455) "for no traces of them have been found".

While foot-gear is rare in the Maya manuscript, Schellhas draws attention to the frequent occurrence of a "peculiar article of



FRAGMENT OF A TAPESTRY DECORATED WITH STYLIZED ANIMALS.
(Musée du Trocadéro. Paris. N° 4434. Ancon (Peru).

dress or ornament for the lower part of the leg". This seems to have been confined to men, and can be seen on almost every figure in the manuscripts. It occurs however, neither on the reliefs nor the clay figurines, although the former sometimes show leg ornaments of a different shape. Arm ornaments were almost as common as those for the legs.

A mode of hair-dressing, which occurs also in Mexico, was the arrangement by which the hair was dressed at the side to form a figure eight. But the Mayas in general took much more trouble than the Mexicans in the dressing of the hair. Landa (*op. cit.* chap. 20), relates that "they wore their hair long like women. On top they burned a sort of large tonsure; they let the hair grow round it while the tonsure remained short. They bound the hair in braids about the head with the exception of one lock, which they allowed to hang down behind like a tassel".

"All authorities agree", adds Bancroft (*Native Races of the Pacific,* vol. 2) "that the priests in Yucatan wore the hair long, uncombed, and often saturated with sacrificial blood. Plumes of feathers seem to have been their usual headdress".

Landa's statement is shown to be incomplete or in error when the existing antiquities are searched for a verification of it, for they show a sufficient variety of coiffures and head coverings, to provide the material for a volume.

Schellhas' view that "differences of rank in Yucatan found special expression in the mode of dressing and ornamenting the hair" seems the most plausible explanation for the manifold forms. The military — who, we are told by Landa, "went forth to war clad in the skins of tigers and bears" — and the ecclesiastical and noble classes doubtless were distinguished from the common folk in this manner. This proved an excellent method of class distinction because the existing climatic conditions forced simplicity of clothing.

The Dresden manuscript shows a headdress consisting of a

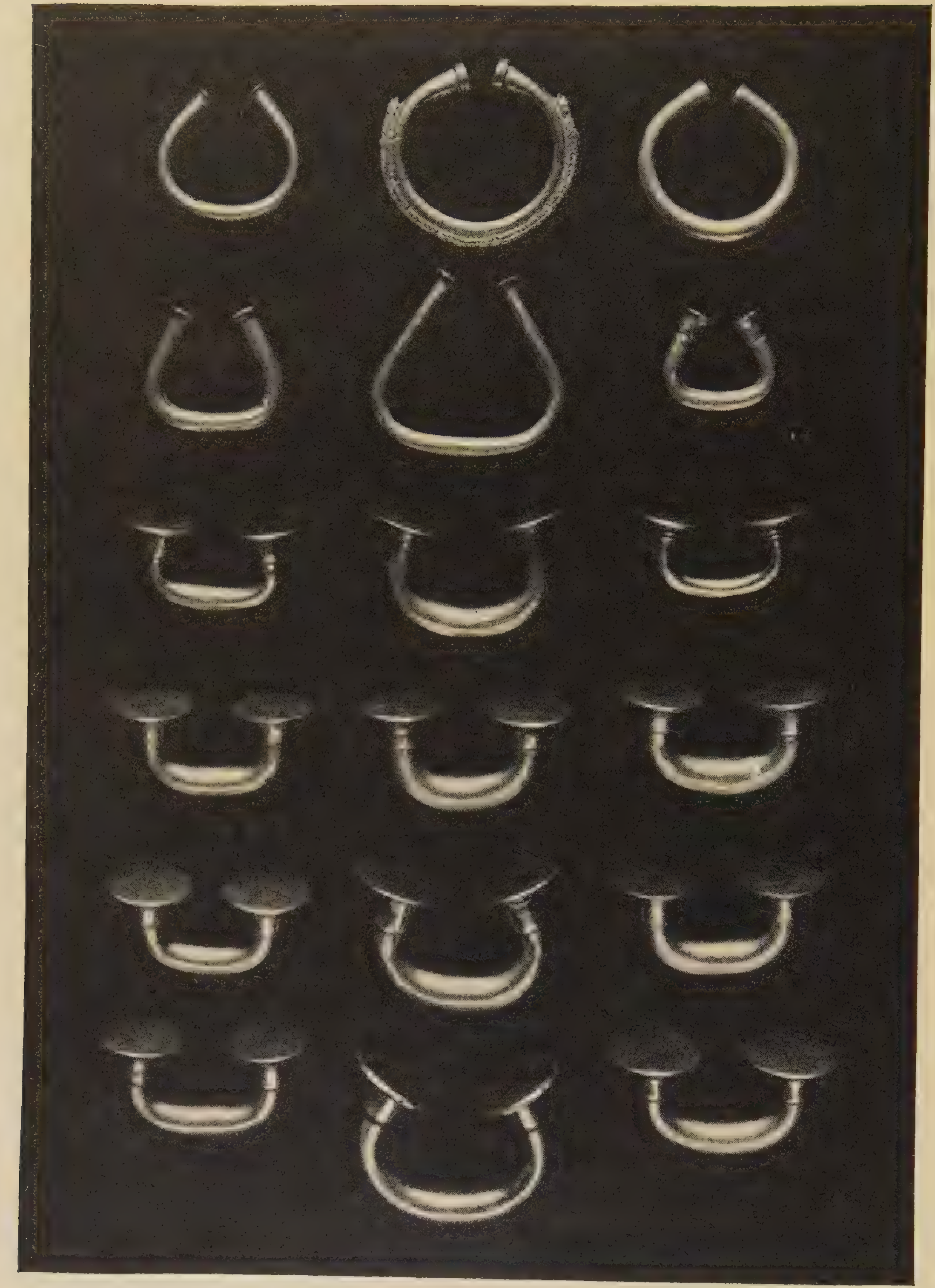


FIG. 133.

NOSE RINGS AND EAR ORNAMENTS, the largest 1 ½ in. across
From Antioquia, Colombia. Compare with "Dress Fasteners" chap. IV.
U. of P. Museum Journal.

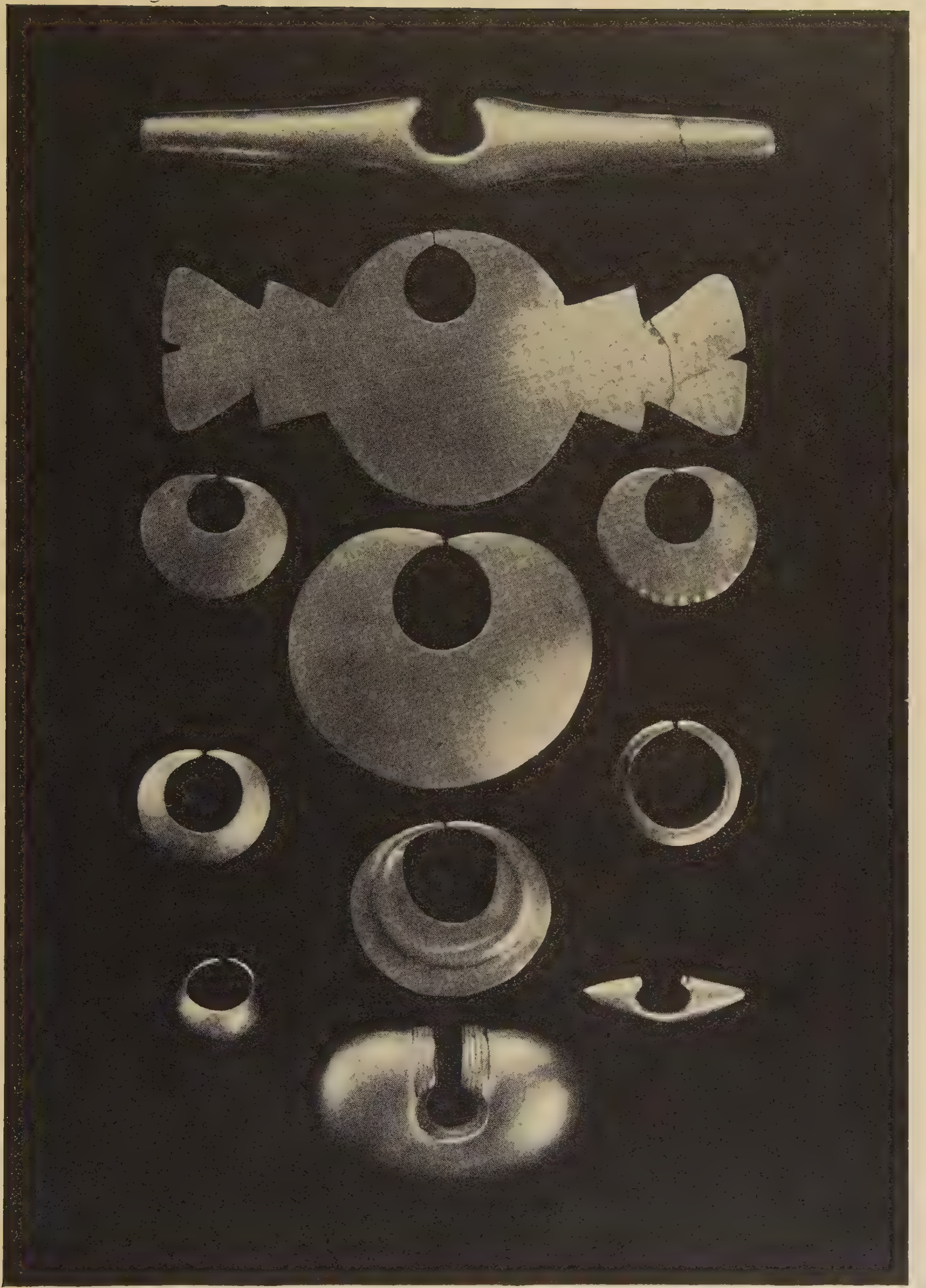


Fig. 134.

Central American Nose Ornaments
The bottom one is hollow cast.
U. of P. Mus. Jour.

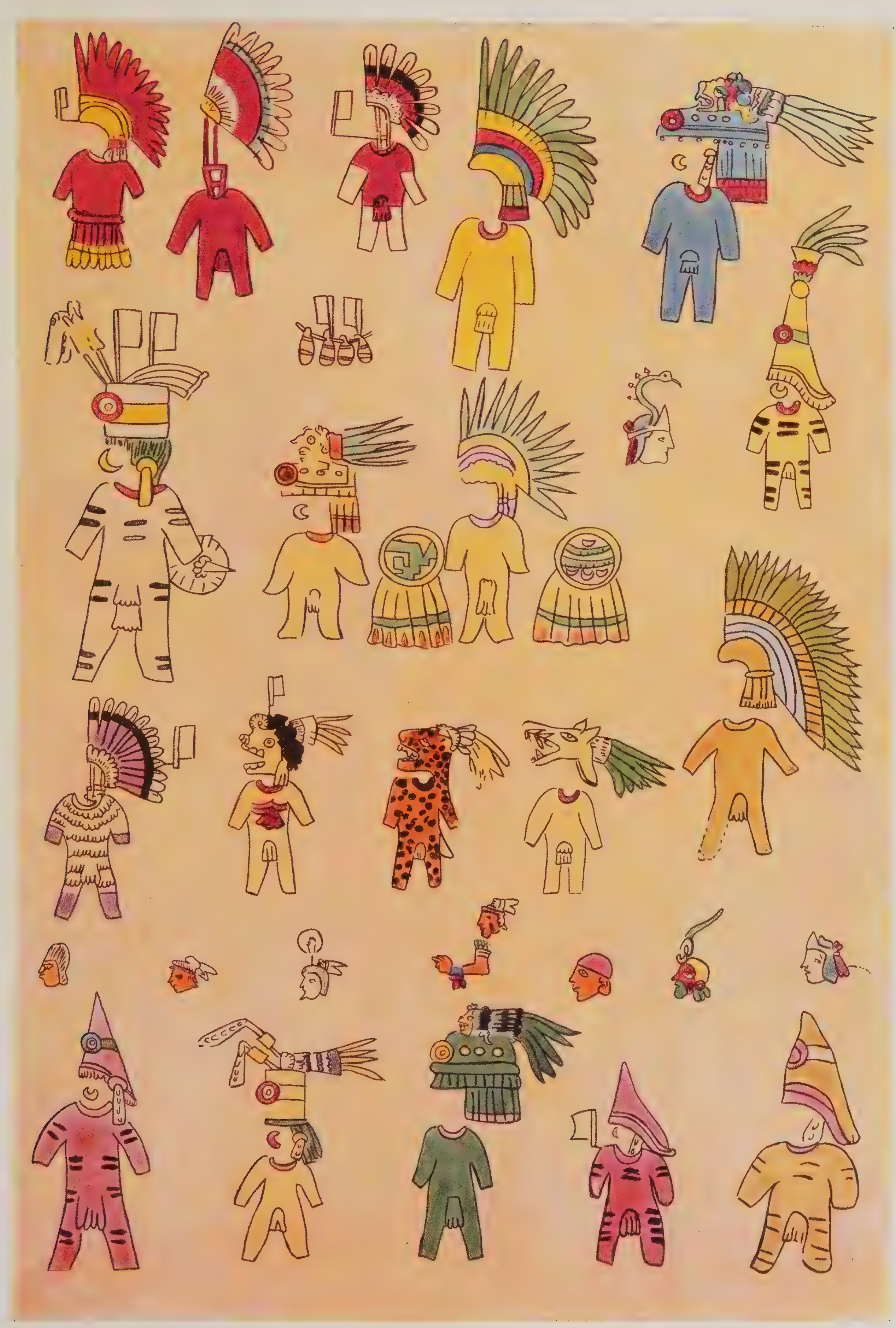
sort of bow or knot, though this occurs neither in the reliefs or the figurines. The headdress of the women is as a rule simpler than that of the men. The hair usually is arranged in long strands which fall on the back and breast. Feather decorations are peculiar to the men.

An excellent picture of the costume of the religious caste is given by Landa (chap. 26). In describing the dress of a priest officiating at a baptism he says : "He wore an over dress of red feathers, decorated with feathers of various colours, while larger feathers were pendant from it, and to the lower hem were attached long strips of cotton reaching to the ground. On his head he wore a sacerdotal cap of the same feather work and in his hand he had a kind of aspergill of wood, with elaborate carvings, upon which, instead of horsehair, rattlesnakes' tails were fastened" (17).

If Brasseur de Bourbourge's assertion that : "le vêtement chez la plupart des Américains était immuable" (*Hist. des Nat. Civ.* v. 3, p. 647), is accepted as applying to Central America, it leaves the subject of dress open to a line of hypothetical reasoning which would explain the apparent discrepancies between the different classes of evidence on the ground of outside influence. This is interesting in connection with the stated theories mentioned relative to the origin of this civilization, which is most often drawn upon to supply proofs of the existence of some contact with Asia.

THE INCASIC CIVILIZATION OF PERU. — The social organization of Peru differed distinctly from that of Mexico. True, it seems to have originated similarly —through a system of clans— but at some ancient date, which cannot be established by the existing mythical tradition, the Inca clan succeeded in asserting an ascendancy. The divine origin of its chief, the Inca, supposed to be a

(17) One of these sprinklers is depicted in the *Codex Cortesianus*, page 26).



COSTUMES AS DEPICTED IN THE BOOK OF TRIBUTE OF MONTEZUMA.

direct descendant of the sun, the custom of sister marriage, and the despotic character of the Incas' power, recall the Pharaohs. Around the Inca was grouped a nobility formed by his clan and these clansmen added to it through a system of concubinage. The numerous royal family, in the largest sense of the term, "roughly corresponded", says Harcourt, "to the *gens romana*". This privileged class furnished the important military and religious functionaries, and wore special and distinguishing costumes. It included the usual badge-bearing caste, which exchanged, under such circumstances, armed service for privileges. This group may have originated in the powerful Condor clan. They were marked and set apart by the custom of wearing large ear ornaments, hence the name *orejones* (big ears), given to them by the Spanish. Youths eligible for the honour of wearing the coveted disks in their ears underwent severe initiation ceremonies, including tests of endurance and military training, before the noble operation incident to their attainment was performed. The "Empire" *Tahuantinsuya* (meaning the four united provinces), was held together and administered through the offices of numerous hierarchic functionaries, who also were a sort of imperial secret police. Through them the Inca regulated everything, even to the sort of clothes which might be worn, and the mode of hairdressing assigned to the different classes. The lot of the commonalty which supported this copious aristocracy may be readily imagined.

The women not only engaged in the usual domestic labour, but helped their husbands in the fields, spun and wove cloth, and made simple clothing.

The Virgins of the Sun, a noble and aristocratic religious order, were charged with the preparation of the royal garments, which was no mere empty form, for the Inca is said to have worn a garment but once, and it was forbidden to any other man to wear it afterwards. This custom may have had some

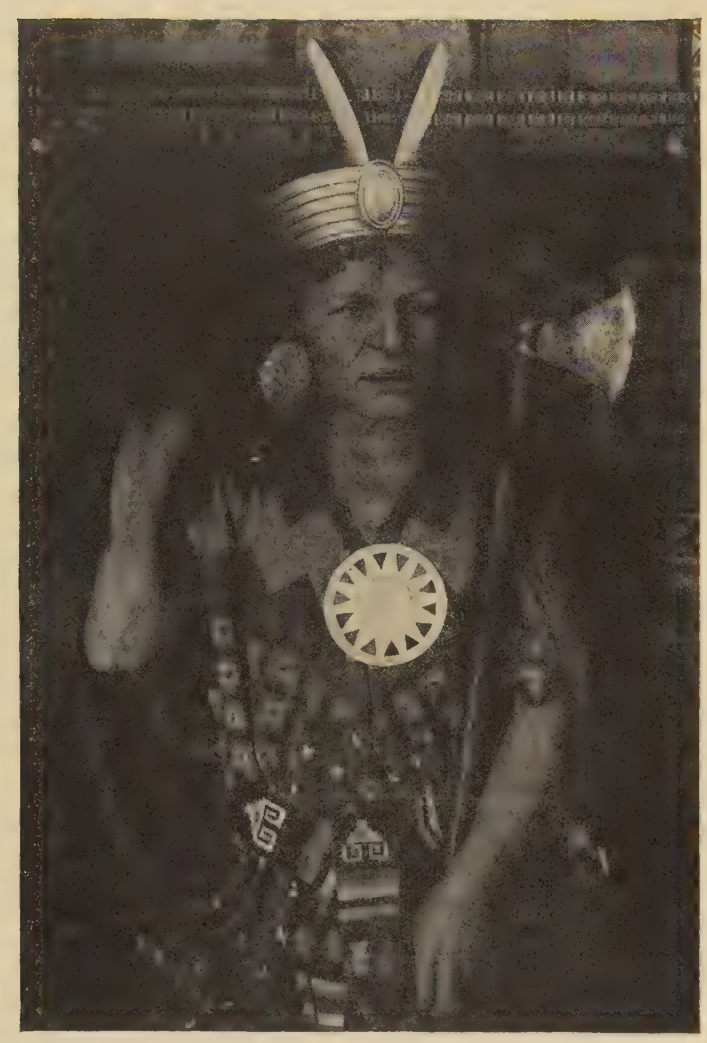


Fig. 135.
Restoration of an Inca
(Photo Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.)

connection with the important economic role played by clothing, which seems to have been similar to that which it played in Fiji. The Spanish conquerors found at Cajamarca "many houses full to the roofs with articles of dress".

Fabrics and weaving. — Fortunate climatic conditions have, contrary to the cases of Mexico and Central America, preserved sufficiently numerous examples of the ancient Peruvian textile arts. Like the Mexicans, the Peruvians, especially the Yuncas of the South, who seem to have carried on a brisk barter of cotton for wool with the Northern Quichuas, employed the agave fibre and cotton. However, they added to these another important material provided by the wool of flocks of domesticated llamas and alpacas (18). It seems that the first animals domesticated in the

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(18) The figure given by Guyot and Raffalovich, *Dictionnaire du Commerce, de l'Industrie et de la Banque,* for the value of the alpaca wool imported into England, was for the year of 1896, 4,960,000 pounds. In spite of its popularity at this date the alpaca has never been successfully domesticated except in Peru, Bolivia, and Chili. "While the fabrics made of llama wool by the Peruvians were admired by the Spaniards from the beginning of the conquest", says Louis Bordeau, (*Histoire de l'Habillement et de la Parure,* p. 25) "no one had the idea of imitating them during three centuries".

New World (excepting dogs), as in the Old, were a wool-bearing species.

Five main sorts of woollen cloth were recognized by the Peruvians, asserts Garcilasso de la Vega (*Primera parte de los Commentarios Reales,* cap V.) ; a coarse stuff of llama wool worn by the common people, called *anasca ;* a fine and supple cloth made from the wool of the alpaca or vicuna (an undomesticated variety of *auchenia*) called *cumpi;* a cloth similar to *cumpi,* but trimmed with feathers ; another where the feathers were replaced by little disks of mother-of-pearl or silver plaques ; finally a coarse sort of felt called *chusi,* which Cobo (*Historia del Nuevo Mundo,* vol. IV, pp. 205-207) says was used to make rugs. Brehm (*Das Inka-Reich,* p. 261), mentions a beautiful fabric as supple and brilliant as silk which was woven of bat's hair.

In spinning, the Peruvians held the distaff in the left hand and the spindle in the right. Sometimes they dispensed with the distaff and spun directly on the spindle !

True weaving in the modern sense of the word was unknown in Peru, the process for making cloth being more in the nature of that employed by fine tapestry-makers. The looms seem to have been as crude as those used in Mexico and Central America, but the Peruvians had a remarkable manual dexterity which made up for the crudeness of their

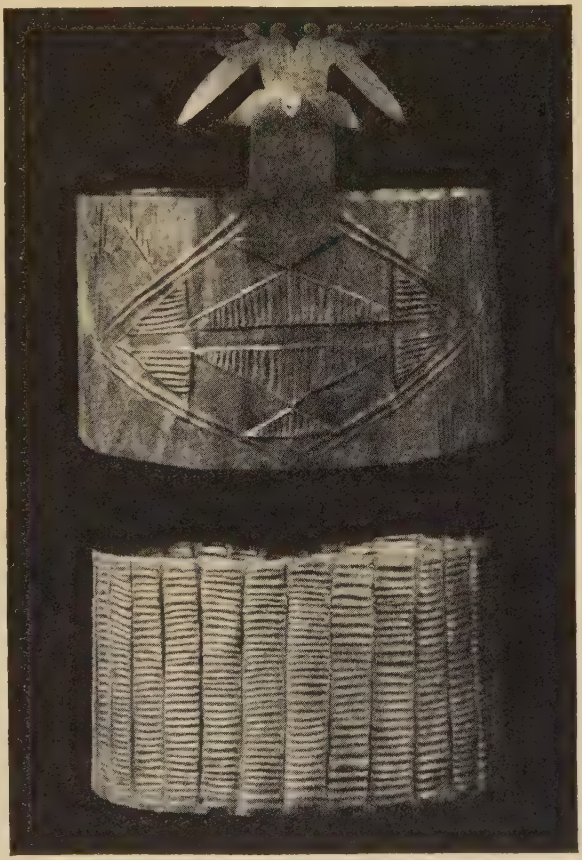

Fig. 136.
Bracelets from Central America.
(Photo Univ. Mus. Phil.)

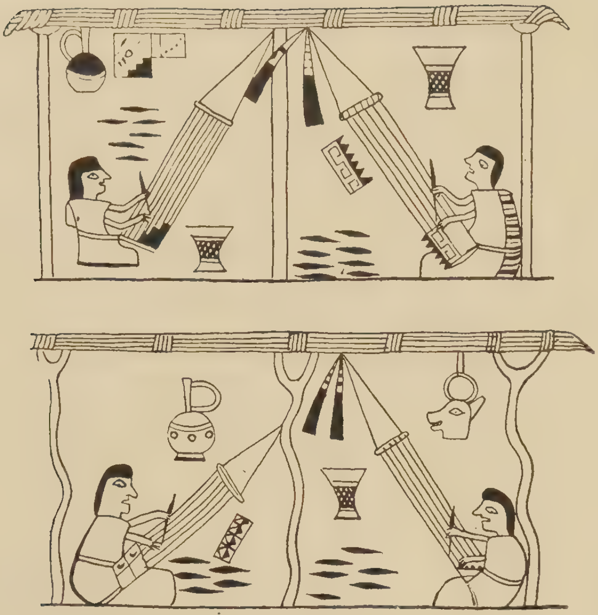

FIG. 137.

METHODS OF WEAVING.

from a painting on a pottery vessel, Trujillo. A tapestry is being woven. On the ground beside the weavers may be seen the weaving pattern, spindles with yarns of various colours, and water jaro. After Mead : *Old Civilizations in Inca-Land.*

apparatus and allowed the production of admirable textiles. These could only be made in small pieces, (60 to 80 cms. in length) so that as a rule the larger pieces were formed by sewing a number of these together. Real tapestries, into which the designs were laboriously woven by using threads of different colours, were executed with such skill and fineness that they compare favourably with any work of this sort in existence. Crawford (*Peruvian Textiles and Peruvian Fabrics*, N. Y. 1916) counted under the microscope 112 woof threads to the centimeter. The principle of brocading and of "double weaving", in which two colours are used showing the same design on both sides of the fabric, were known, as well as extremely fine embroidery, which can only be distinguished from the cloth which it decorates after the closest examination.

Vegetable and mineral dyes furnished either strong or delicate colours which have withstood the test of time admirably. They closely resemble those used by the Copts. Yet, although the Peruvians were excellent dyers, it seems doubtful whether they ever surpassed the Mexicans in this respect.

CLOTHING. — Generally speaking the men's clothing consisted of three pieces : the tunic, *uncu* ; the mantle, *yacolla ;* and the sandal, *usuta.*

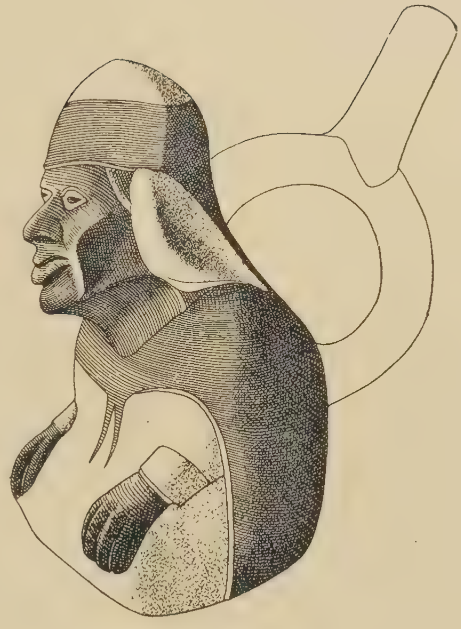

Fig 139.
Peruvian costume
depicted on a pottery vessel. The man wears a poncho with sleeves and a shawl-like garment (Yacolla) over it.
After Mead :
Old Civilizations in Inca-Land.

Cobo, (op. cit. vol. IV, p. 160) describes the *uncu* as a sort of sleeveless, or very short sleeved shirt, larger across the shoulders than at the bottom. It was made from cotton or llama wool and sewn along the sides. Although a few of these garments open at the sides have been found in the burials, M. Harcourt attributes this to the fact that it was done to avoid undue difficulty in dressing the corpse, and that the garments were originally closed.

Beuchat describes the *yacolla* (which name he translates by the word *poncho*) as being still employed in Andean America. But according to the findings of Montell, the original *yacollas* were much shorter than the more modern ponchos, reaching only to mid-thigh or at most to the knees, and they were invariably sewn along the sides. Vecellio, (Vecellio Cesare, *degli abiti antichi e moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, 1590) gives the "Habito di Donna di Granata" as consisting of a poncho-like garment which seems, however, to have been made from an oval piece of stuff and which "fatto a guisa di una cotta da prete". The poncho has often been compared to the chasuble. Vecellio ascribes its origin to the Moors, so that it seems probable that such garments may have existed in Spain well before the date when Vecellio's venerable

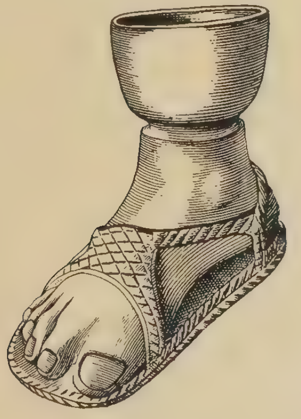

Fig. 138.
A water vessel
in the form of a human foot, showing the type of sandal worn and the method of fastening to the foot.
After Mead :
Civilizations of Inca-Land.

first edition appeared. They certainly would have been admirably fitted to the needs of explorers. The *yacollas,* in any case, were often decorated with feathers or little silver plaques and were sometimes attached by means of large copper or silver pins called *tupus.* The Enc. Brit. gives the word poncho as of Araucanian derivation, adopted by the Spanish in the seventeenth century. Weiner (*Perou et Bolivie*), hints that the poncho may have developed from the collars, which he shows got larger and larger with time. This suggestion is vigorously opposed by Montell.

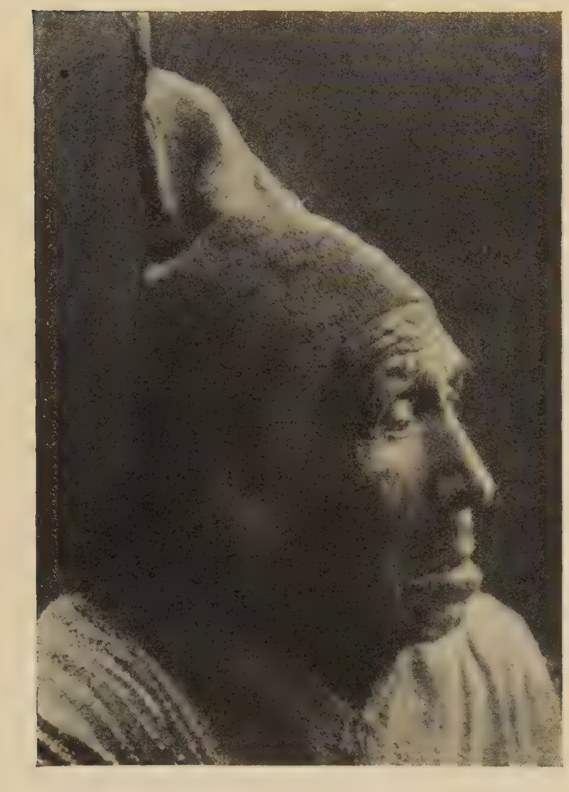

Fig. 140.
Old Moxo Indian from Bolivia.
Showing persistence of the ancient form of bonnet. The man is 114 years old.
(Photo Otto Haeckel).

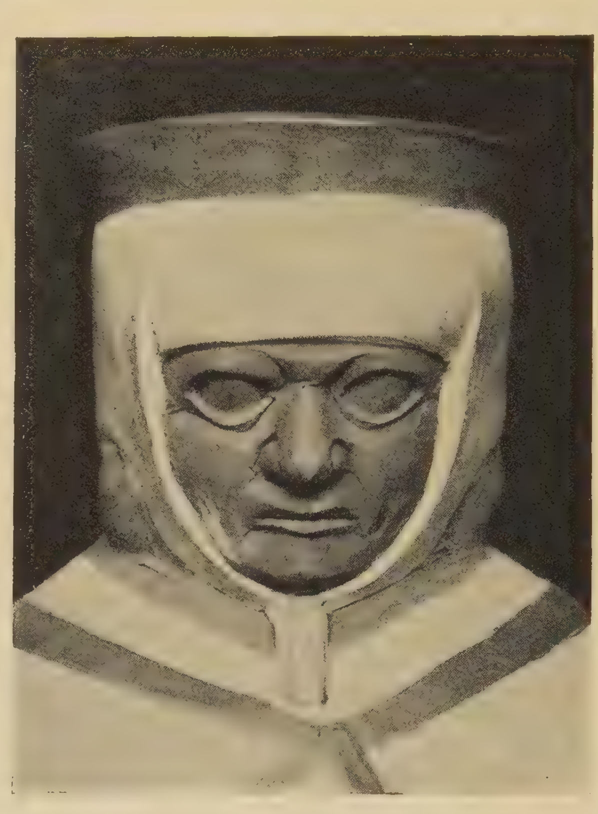

Fig. 141.
Head from Terra Cotta Pot
from Moche, Libertad (Peru), coll. Drouillon.
Showing guimpe-like headdress knotted under chin.

The *usuta* or sandal varied in form from a simple fibre or leather sole, attached to the foot by thongs passing between the great and the other toes, to a real shoe-form adjusted to the foot.

Women's clothing consisted of a long sack-like tunic (*anacu*) which reached from the arm-pits to the feet, (the top edges were lifted upon the shoulders and fastened by *tupus*), a wide cloth band worn as a girdle called *chumpi,* and the *lliclla,* a kind of shawl, worn over the shoulders and also fastened with the *tupus*.

ORNAMENT. — The Peruvians do not seem to have had the Mexican habit of body-painting (19), and authorities do not agree as to whether or not they practised tattooing. Deformation of the head was practised at least in some localities.

When earrings were worn it seems that the ear was by no means always pierced for their reception. They were more often attached by means of a cotton thread arranged to hold the ornament in the desired position. Their most usual form was cylindrical, about three to five centimeters in length and from four to six in diameter. At one end was attached a disk, the diameter of which varied from six to eight centimeters. This disk was usually decorated with drawings, or inlaid with mother-of-pearl or bone.

Great care was taken in the arrangement of the hair, which varied among the different tribes. Oliva, (*Histoire du Pérou,* p. 55), describes the copper knife with a transversal cutting edge, called *tumi,* which was used to trim the hair. Cutting of the hair was part of the initiation ceremony which both sexes underwent at puberty. As has been mentioned, its form was regulated by sumptuary laws, the Incas wearing it short, the nobles of a prescribed length, and the common people long.

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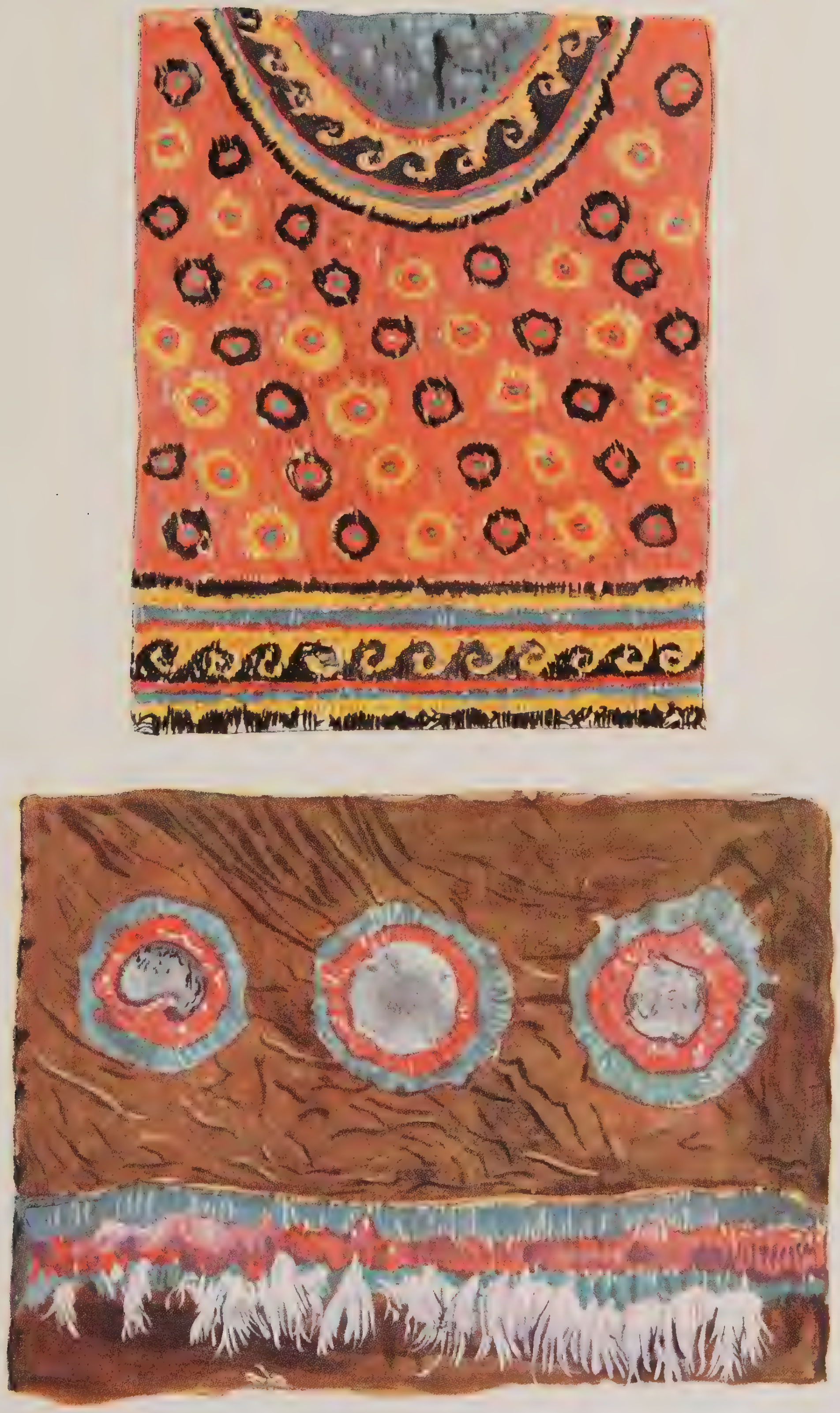
(19) This is not well established. Until recently the Quichuas of Ecuador painted a red streak from cheek to cheek across the nose, and another over the eyebrows. Tattooing may have come from the Mayas.

Circlets or head bands of cloth or metal were in general use. In the province of Chachapoyas slings were used for this purpose, the widest part being worn in front. The evolution of the sling from the useful article to a sling-like, decorated head band may be interestingly studied by a comparison of existing specimens. Among the people the filet usually was wound about the head but once, the nobles wore one or three turns, while to the Inca was reserved the right of wearing the *llautu,* a band of red llama's wool which encircled the head five times. Members of the royal family wore bands of brown or yellow, ornamented with earknots. Feather headdresses resembling those worn by the Amazon tribes have been found in the sepulchres. Sometimes silver statuettes were worn tied to the forehead, while Garcilasso de la Vega, (*op. cit.* chap. XV) speaks of the *Huamachucus* as wearing a silver plaque wrought in the shape of a half-moon in their hair.

But the bandeau was by no means universal. The *Chancas* wore their hair in plaits, the Collas and Aymaras wore a coif of llama's wool cloth, which seems to have been derived from the padded cotton helmets of the Quichua warriors, the Cajamarcans wore their hair wrapped in a hair net, while the *Huacrachuçus* wore the horns of the *Cervus cariarcus.* The American Indian mind has always been partial to headdresses. A peculiar example of the lengths to which this propensity may go is afforded by the modern coiffures of the Mexican women of Tehuantepec, which represent the frock of a baby rescued long ago from a wreck on the coast. It is supposed to bring luck to its wearers and is worn like a huge bonnet with the sleeves hanging down behind.

Body ornament consisted of necklaces, bracelets, earrings and finger rings. These latter have been found on almost all the mummies. The bracelets and rings usually were made of hammered copper or silver forming a closed circle.

Necklaces were made of dried fruit and vegetables, puma and human teeth, birds' bills and monkey bones, shells entire or in



PRE-COLUMBIAN PONCHOS.

(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin).

fragments, coral, soft and hard stones, (particularly lapis-lazuli), and metal beads. Those made from hard stones were considered more precious than those of gold or silver because of the labour which was necessary to their manufacture.

The earrings were usually of wood or terra cotta and rarely of metal.

The *Huancavillcas,* a northern tribe, wore nose ornaments which Bastian (*Op. cit.* vol. 1, p. 585) says were so large in the case of the men that they hung down in front of the mouth. While those of the men were in the form of plaques, the women wore heavy rings which pulled the nose downward and lengthened it.

Trapezoidal or circular tweezers of copper or silver for pulling out hairs, ear-spoons, combs of carved wood, and tubes which served as containers for powder (usually red), are among the toilet accessories found in the sepulchres.

In résumé the dress of the American civilizations shows a peculiar admixture of barbaric and civilized qualities which seem to exemplify the characteristic psychology which pervaded them. Beautiful and highly finished clothing was accompanied by the incongruous labrets and nose ornaments.

Thus they may be appropriately considered as a transitional stage between the prehistoric, primitive and "barbaric" cultures, treated in this volume, and the civilizations of classical antiquity which are to follow. The increasing complexity of costume, from a psychological and metaphysical standpoint ; its more definite relation to the architectural background, the different and more subtle manner in which it plays its rôle as a label of economic caste, and a far more indirect and traditionally stylistic mode of satisfying the purely aesthetic demands, help to form the vague line of division which may be drawn between "civilized barbarism", and the somewhat barbaric beginnings of what were to be great civilizations. Regular evolutionary mode cycles begin. At first they are indefinite and unfold slowly, developing, crystallizing and declining gently, but as time goes on they become more definite, rapid, sometimes even abrupt. Often they are closely connected or even correspond to quite clearly marked historic epochs. So the province of the prehistorian and ethnologist is left for the domain of the historian and archæologist. The sources for study become increasingly, sometimes, as in the case of Greece or Rome, even dangerously rich. Written and visual evidence may be simultaneously presented, and hypotheses supported by formidable arrays of "facts".

Yet the theories presented in this connection with the primitive peoples continue to make themselves felt. Sex, religion, ego, caste, totem, taboo, economics and aesthetics, (and the importance of the rôle of this last-mentioned and much-neglected force may be stressed in passing) play their part as ever under different names, less overtly, disguised and dignified, but always, with a little effort, recognizable.

The clothes are never separated from the man... and as with every one of his creations, "plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose".

TABLE I

ANCIENT MEXICANS (1)

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Climate. — Anahuac consists of the : 1. *Tierras calientes,* the low grounds on its East and West coast (up to 2,000 ft. elevation). Mean temperature about 77 F. ; 2. *Tierras templadas,* the slopes of the mountain chains on either side of the central table land (up to 5,000 ft. elevation). Mean temp. about 68 to 70 F. ; 3. *Tierras frias,* The vast plains elevated 5,000 ft. and upwards. Mean temp. about 62 F. Few rivers. Great dryness. Volcanic conditions. The central lake valley historical centre.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Vegetal. — In the hot countries purely tropical vegetation (except on the sandy plains intermingled).

Animals. — Deer, tapir, jaguar, serpents, etc.

In the perpetual humidity of the temperate districts the products of the temperate zone in unchanging verdure.

Animals. — Deer, coyote, fox, rabbit, etc.

The lofty plains, except the highest ones, were covered with trees, and rich in the produce of central Italy. Not many quadrupeds, but deer, rabbits, ocelotl, etc..., are found. Birds not numerous.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Men sturdy and seldom above middle height ; women short and fat. Thick skin which conceals muscles and veins. Colour, reddish-brown (palms of the hands and soles of the feet white). Low forehead ; the hind part large and seemingly pressed upward. Hair, coal-black, slick and sleek ; the scalp never bald and the hair seldom turning grey. Large and dark eyes with yellowish white, placed horizontally and far apart. Nose slightly bent and broad at the lower part. Broad mouth with beautiful teeth. Chin round and full. Little hair on the upper lip. The face oval. Neck short. Legs more muscular than the arms. Hands and feet small. Inferior sense of sensibility.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Adjacent towards North, barbarous tribes ; towards south the highly civilized Maya and Quiché.

No intercourse traceable beyond these immediate surroundings (Nicaragua and the Isthmus indirectly reached).

The elements of population very complex, because of numerous immigrations mixing in Anahuac (to-day 153 tribes distinguished). Stocks of older and more civilized tribes scattered over the country.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Division of labour. Numerous slaves, but slavery generally arose from poverty (prisoners of war being usually sacrificed) ; slavery not hereditary and the obligations might be performed by others. The labour of the agricultural population was regulated by the obligation to personal services under a feudal system. Thus the *magueyes* were serfs of the real proprietors of the estates to which they were fixed ; the *Tecatec,* of the noblemen to whom they were assigned by the king ; and the members of the *calpullis* or agricultural communities (which held estates in common), of the king.

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(1) Tables after Herbert Spencer, modified.

Labour of the public works being due not by single persons but by districts was performed in common.

Free Labour : Merchants (who were highly considered) and craftsmen, organized in bodies, were exempt from personal services (except in urgent cases). No one could enter into the trade, except by right of descent or special permission.

Laws. — Drunkenness sometimes punished by cutting the hair.

Ranks. 1. King chosen according to fitness by the nobility and priesthood, etc.

2. Tributary chiefs of subdued countries.

3. Nobility. *Pipiltzin,* or people of noble birth, and (as a higher rank) *tecuhtlis,* or knights by royal grant (in later times not necessarily of noble birth) forming the court nobility. The *Chinanccalec,* or chiefs of the agricultural communities, represent the aristocracy of the elder strata of the population.

4. Merchants and craftsmen.

5. Common people, composed of the members of the agricultural communities, the *teccalec* (properly belonging to the communities ?) the services of whom were granted by the king to deserving noblemen, and the *magueyes* or serfs of noblemen (refugees from other countries ?).

The slaves did not form a particular class.

ECCLESIASTICAL

At the time of their immigration the Mexicans were guided by the priests or their national god Huitzilopochtli. After the establishment of the monarchy, political and ecclesiatical government remained closely connected, the king with his lords electing the high priests, and the priesthood exercising great influence in all kinds of secular matters.

In Tezcuco and Tlacopan the high priest always the second son of the king.

No chief priest for the whole empire. The priests of the several gods were separate and each had a graduation of their own.

Priests had to pass through three ranks before they could be elected high priests by the king and lords.

Immense number of priests with highly specialized offices. Immense numbers of temples with estates giving rich revenues. The priests dyed their bodies black, never shaved, and bedaubed their hair with ink, each particle of their dress and ornament had a mystical meaning. Priest garbed in black (sacred colour) except sacrificial who was clad in scarlet.

Bodies treated in different ways according to the kind of death. Rites performed by priests. Burning, burial, etc.

The corpse was prepared for the funeral by dressing it in many garments (particularly in the costume of the god who ruled over the class of the dead or the kind of death he had died by), and adorning it with several papers as a safeguard for passing through several dangerous places, etc. In marriage, garments of the bride and bridegroom were tied together, etc.

BELIEFS IN CONNECTION WITH DRESS

Precious stones (chalchihuites) and certain plumes ("the shadow of the gods") were worshipped (apparently in connection with the custom of putting such stones into the mouths of dying people, and with the high esteem of the *quetzal*, the feathers of which were worn by the priests).

ORNAMENT

Mutilations :

When a boy dedicated to the service of Quetzalcoatl was two years of age, the priest made a slight cut in his breast as a sign that he belonged to the god. Frequent self bleeding as offering especially by the priests. Piercing the tongue and the other parts for penance. Ears of the boys and girls pierced.

Ears, lips and nose were pierced to put in jewels, etc.

They pulled out their growing beards.

"The sentiment of shame..., led to the belief that to forego fleshly pleasures was a meritorious sacrifice in the eyes of the gods. In this persuasion certain of the Aztec priests practiced complete abcission or entire discerption of the virile parts, and a mutilation of females was not unknown similar to that immemorially a custom in Egypt". Brinton, *The Myths of the New World*, N. Y. 1868.

"The *Totonacs* practised circumcision." (?) Mendieta *Geron. de Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana, obra escrita a fines del siglo XIV*. Mexico, 1870.

The Indians of Tuito (in Xalisco) had a sort of tonsure. See Orozco y Berra, *Geografia de las Lenguas y Carta Etnografica de Mexico*, p. 278. Mexico, 1864.

For the custom of piercing the ears of children see Sahagun, *op. cit.* bk. i, chap. 13 .

"They pierce the lips... and wear golden half-moons in them. The great lords also pierce the nose and wear precious stones in them" *Idem*, bk. viii, ch. 9.

Waitz (*Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. Leipzig, 1859, etc. iv, p. 54) mentions that the Huastecans had their teeth cut in form of saws.

Torquemada, Juan de, *Monarquia Indiana* (1610, etc., Madrid, 1723). states that the Indians used to deform their heads with a view to appear more formidable.

"They were accustomed to pull their beards" Mendiata, *op. cit*, p. 96.

"They bathed themselves extremely often, even many times in the same day". Clavigero, Fr. S., *The History of Mexico*. 1870, (Transl. by Ch. Cullen. London, 1787. bk. viii, ch. 61).

Tylor, *Early History*, p. 205 concerning certain gold ornaments says that "they will compare almost with the Etruscan work for design and delicacy of finish.

"The Zapotecs seem to have been very fond of the colour red" Mayer, Brantz, *On Zapotec Antiquities* (in Smithsonian Contributions, vol. IX, Washington, 1856, p. 31).

"There appeared a small body of Tlascalans, decorated with badges, the white colour of which indicated peace. — Prescott, *Mexico*, i. p. 419.

"For the performance of sacrifices, the *Topiltzin* (priest) was clothed in a red habit". — Clavigero. bk. vi, ch. 18.

"They cover the pudenda with very elegant cloths" *The Anonymous Writer*, ch. 3, 5 (Tern.-Comp. pp. 64-5).

ARTS CONNECTED WITH FABRICS, etc.

"Sometimes one sees women weaving cotton cloth, or *manta*, as it is called, in a loom of the simplest possible construction ; or sitting at their doors in groups, spinning cotton thread with the *malacates*... The Mexicans spun and wove their cotton cloth just in this way before the conquest ; and *malacates* of baked clay are found in great numbers in the neighbourhood of the old Mexican cities. They are simple, like very large button moulds, and a thin wooden skewer stuck in the hole in the middle makes them ready for use. Such spindles were used by the lake-men of Switzerland, but the earthen heads were not quite the same in shape, being like balls pierced with a hole as are those at present used in Mexico". Tylor, *Anahuac,* London, 1861, p. 201.

"There are stamps in terra cotta with geometrical patterns, for making lines and ornaments on the vases before they were baked, and for stamping patterns upon cotton cloth which was one of their principal manufactures as it is now". *Idem,* pp. 228-9. (Does this perhaps refer to the *pintaderas ?*).

"They had no wool, nor common silk, nor lint, nor hemp, but they supplied the want of wool with cotton, that of silk with feathers, with the hair of the rabbit and hare, and that of lint and hemp with *icxotl,* or mountain palm, with the *quetzalichti,* the *pati* and other species of the maguey...

"The method they used to prepare those materials was the same which is practised by the Europeans for lint and hemp. They soaked the leaves in water, then cleaned them, put them in the sun, and beat them until they were fit to spin". Clavigero, bk. vii, ch. 57, *op. cit.*

For a sort of buskin made of fine deer skin, see Herrera, *op. cit.* iii, p. 242.

"A few years after the conquest, a sacerdotal habit of the Mexicans was brought to Rome, which... was commonly admired on account of its fineness and beauty. They wove those cloths with different figures and colours representing different animals and flowers. Of feathers interwoven with cloth they made... things not less beautiful... With cotton also they interwove the finest hair of the belly of rabbits and hares, after having dyed and spun it into thread", Clavigero, *op. cit.* bk. vii, chap. 57.

"The beautiful colours which they employed both in their paintings and their dyes were obtained from wood, from leaves and the flowers of different plants, and various animals". *Idem,* bk. vii, ch. 48.

"The arts of casting, engraving, chasing and carving in metal were all practised with great skill... and personal ornaments in great variety were wrought by the Mexican goldsmiths... with such curious art that the Spaniards acknowledge the superiority of the native workmanship over anything they could achieve". D. Wilson, *Prehistoric Man,* Cambridge, 1865, i, pp. 302-3.

CLOTHING

(See Chap. 5, p. 21. foot-note).

"Their usual habit was quite simple, consisting of the *maxtlatl* and *tilmati* in the men, and of the *cueitl* and the *huepilli* in the women. The *maxtlatl* was a large belt or girdle, the two ends of which hung down before and behind, to cover the parts of shame. The *tilti* was a square mantle, about four feet long ; the two ends were tied up on the breast or upon one shoulder... The *cueitl,* or Mexican gown, was also a piece of square cloth, in which the women wrapped themselves from their waists down to the middle of the leg. The *huepilli* was a little under-vest, or waistcoat without sleeves".

The cloaks of the Cholulese are mentioned as having pockets. See Cortes, ii. *Letter,* pp. 71, 72.

"In the hot countries near the sea, the women wear a sort of veil made of yellow thread." *The Anonymous Writer,* ch. 5 (Tern.-Comp., i. p. 65).

Men wore large girdles, covering privities, and two or three square mantles (according to rank, of maguey thread or cotton). Feather dresses.

Women wore sleeveless shirts, adorned with fringes, and up to four covers, the shorter over the longer ones, the former going down to the middle of the leg, the latter to the instep. Wore no head-cover except in war and at festivals (plumages) (?). Spencer. Des. soc. Table I.

The foregoing table describes the civilization of the Aztecs and their kindred. It appears to have been based upon the superior Toltec civilization the founders of which were described as "an agricultural people wearing long tunics, sandals, and straw hats".

TABLE II

CENTRAL AMERICANS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Central America, the country between the Isthmus of Panama and that of Tehuantepec, is topographically marked by three centres of elevation : the broken tableland of Guatemala (upwards of 4,000 ft above sea-level) ; a group of mountains occupying Honduras, and the centre of Costa Rica. On the Atlantic side an alluvion forms in the north the large peninsula, Yucatan (a dry plain with hills in centre).

Volcanoes. Great variety of climates. (Mean annual temp. in interior about 72° F., on West Coast 84°, on East Coast 82° F.) Pacific declivity more salubrious and more genial.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

FLORA. — More abundant on Atlantic declivity, comprises most tropical plants.

FAUNA. — Deer, peccary, tapir, squirrel, sloth, armadillo, jaguar, etc. Monkeys. Many birds : quetzel, parrots, humming-birds, etc. Alligators, serpents. Few poisonous reptiles. Not many fishes.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Maya or *Tzendal* group of nations in Yucatan, Guatemala, Tabasco, Chiapas, Soconusco, and North-West of Honduras : homogeneous and comparatively pure in Yucatan, most influenced by Nahuatl immigration in Chiapas and Guatemala.

Nahautls in *San Salvador* (*Pipiles*) and *Nicaragua* (*Niquirans, Cholutecans*).

Many *Chontal* (= stranger) tribes between the more civilised groups. The *Chiapanecas* linguistically near relations of *Dirians* in Nicaragua.

Rather savage tribes occupied the alluvions of the Atlantic Coast southwards, and were scattered over Costa Rica. Intercourse extended to Mexico on the one side, to the Isthmus on the other.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

As with the other ancient Americans. Yucatanese were of middle height, and well proportioned. The Itzaex were lighter than the rest. Quichés were sturdy. Nicaraguans were lighter-complexioned than the Mexicans.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

DIVISION OF LABOUR :

Yucatan. — Prisoners of war, thieves, those who married slaves, and in many cases destitute people became slaves and were used for all kinds of work. Sons of slaves were slaves until they redeemed themselves. Large amount of State labour. Priests decided (upon prognostication) trade a child was to learn. Most land held in common (except certain plantations and improved estates) also salt-pans on sea-coast. People combined for all sorts of work.

Honduras. — Slaves (booty of warfare) did all laborious work. People combined for hunting matches and fishing bouts.

Nicaragua. — Prisoners of war usually sacrificed. Thieves became slaves of person robbed until they redeemed themselves. Children might be sold. No public labour.

RANKS. — *Yucatan.* — Succession to throne in direct line. Subjects could reside where they liked, but bound to heavy services and contribution.

Vera Paz. — Absolute king. Successors had to pass through 4 offices, lowest of which was filled by election.

Guatemala. — Each of the 3 kingdoms had peculiar monarchical institutions. That of the *Quiché* (Utatlans) took predominance. Succession to throne : heir had to pass through four offices, lowest of which was filled up with nearest relation. If under age, regency. Nobility strictly separated from people (intermarriage caused degradation). 24 vassal lords (*Ahaos*) had the country divided among themselves ; not even lowest appointment was given to any but noblemen. People formed communities under local chiefs and cultivated estates of the lords. The 24 lords formed King's Council. King had lieutenants in principal towns, but these had no power over *Ahaos.*

San Salvador and Honduras. — Numerous small chiefs.

Nicaragua. — Free states (governed by elected councils of old men) and monarchies (king ruling with assistance of council).

Yucatan. — Authority of priests rivalled that of king. A high-priest, succeeded by son or nearest relative, was the keeper of science and adviser of lords ; nominated village priests; no estates but received gifts and contributions. Priest (*akhin* i.e. one who casts lots) taught sciences, educated younger sons of lords, preached, etc.

Guatemala. — Priests had great authority in state and war matters. In some provinces king was high-priest. Had very many places of worship. In case of great public distress, priest lived in seclusion for some months.

San Salvador. — Priests divined and advised about war. High-priest (*tecti*), next to him chief diviner, four priests, assistants to high priests, assistant to high priest (out of whom he was chosen by lot drawn by cazique and diviner), etc.

Honduras. — At principal temple a nobleman lived as high priest, could not marry, instructed noble youth, gave advice to noblemen.

Nicaragua. — Priests (except confessors) could not marry.

CEREMONIAL

Bodies treated in different ways in several states, according to rank, etc. In *Yucatan* corpse covered with many dresses and slaves killed to prepare house in other world.

In *Vera Paz* they caught dying breath of a lord with a precious stone and rubbed his face with it. In *Guatemala* mourning people bedaubed themselves with yellow paint.

ORNAMENT

Mutilations :

Sacrificial mutilations for penance were general.

In Yucatan. — Where many were bow-legged and squint-eyed in consequence of early practices. Heads and foreheads of children were flattened. Beards plucked out. Burnt off hair of crown that it should remain short. Pierced ears and nose, and tattooed their bodies from girdle upwards with exception of breast. (Similar customs in other countries).

"They sometimes let blood from their own bodies, cutting their ears all round, and leaving them so, as a sign (of penitence). On other occasions they pierced their cheeks or under-lips ; or cut off parts of the body, or perforated their tongues laterally and put straws in the punctures, though at the cost of excruciating pain ; or they cut off loose flesh of the pudenda, leaving it as ears. This custom has led the general historian of the Indies (Oviedo) to the erroneous belief that they had the usage of circumcision... With the blood... they anointed the idol... With the women there were no such macerations, through they were very devout". Landa, *Relation des Choses de Yucatan,* Par. XXVIII.

Landa's evidence concerning the alleged custom of circumcision (corroborated by that of

Cogulludo, bk. IV), appears strong enough to dispose of that given by P. Martyr, p. 331, 336, and by Gamara, p. 186.

M. Brasseur (*Revue Or. et Am.* I, p. 337) states that the custom of circumcision is still to be found with the Mixi Indians in Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

"The Indians of Yucatan are a fine race, and are tall, stout and very strong. As a rule, they are bow-legged ; for in their infancy their mothers carry them about suspended at their haunch-bones. They thought it a beauty to be squint-eyed, and their mothers made them so artificially, by attaching to their hair, from infancy, a small piece of sticking-plaster (*pegotillo*), which reached to the middle of the eyebrows and, approaching their eyes, it so moved them that they became and remained squint. Their heads and foreheads were flat, this too being produced from childhood by the exertions of their mothers, and their ears were pierced to suspend ornaments, and were much torn by sacrificial customs. They had no beards, and they said that their mothers in childhood burnt their faces with hot cloths, that no hair might grow. Nowadays they have beards, though very rough ones, like the hair of foxes... They burnt off the hair of the crown, and accordingly their hair grew to a great length downwards, and that of the crown remained short. They plaited it and made a garland of it round the head, leaving at the back, like a small tail, tassels". Landa, Par. XX.

"Four or five days after birth, the child was put on a small bed made of rods, and there, the face being underneath, the head was put between two boards, one being at the occiput, the other at the front. Between these they compressed it forcibly, and kept it thus for some days, until the head was flattened and shaped like their own". Landa, XXX.

"From ostentation and for show they scarified themselves with certain stone lancets on the breasts, arms and thighs, till the blood came, and they put black earth or ground charcoal into the wounds. When the wounds healed, they showed the figures of eagles, serpents, birds, and animals, which they had incised with lancets. They also pierced their noses". Cogolluda (*Historia de Yucatan*) bk. IV, ch. 5.

"They tattooed their bodies, and the more they did so the more gallant and strong they thought themselves, as tattooing was accompanied with much pain... Those who omitted it were sneered at". Landa, XXI.

"The women had the custom to saw their teeth, shaping them like the teeth of a saw, and this they think very beautiful. It is done by old women, who saw the teeth with certain stones. They bored the gristle between the nostrils to suspend from it an amber stone, and this they thought a beauty. They bored the ears to put in pendants, like their husbands. They tattooed the body from the girdle upwards, with the exception of the breast (for the sake of rearing) with finer and more delicate figures than the man". Landa, XXXI.

"The *Zoque* in Tabasco are distinguished "by the rare custom of shaving the crown of the head". See Barnard, in *Orozco y Berra,* p. 163.

Guatemala. — In bringing up children "they fasten them to a board by means of straps wound around their body all the way from the feet to the shoulders, in consequence of which all the Indians have the backs of their heads smooth and flat". Fuentes, (*Palacio, San Salvador and Honduras,* p. 106).

San Salvador. — Chontales. "Complaint was made to me against a cazique of a place called Gotera, who since the time of his paganism had his private member split open, as was the custom anciently amongst the most valiant. In 1563, certain idolatrous Indians of another village, called Cezori, got together in a neighbouring forest, where one of them performed the same operation, and afterwards they circumcised 4 boys of 12 years of age, in the Jewish manner, offering the blood to an idol of stone of a cylindrical form, with a double visage and many eyes, called Icelaca. They say that he is the god who knows the present and the past, and sees all things. Both his faces were anointed with blood". Palacio, *San Salvador &*

Honduras in 1576, p. 87. (In Squier's *Collection of Rare & Original Documents & Relations Concerning the Discovery & Conquest of America.* N. I).

Honduras. — The Indians at the Black and to the eastward 'had not great foreheads like the islanders'. They... tattooed themselves in various ways, and had, moreover, 'great river holes in the lobes of their ears, through which an egg might pass', whence Colombus named this coast *La Costa de la Oreja* — The Coast of the Ear. Squier, *The States of Central America,* p. 250.

Nicaragua. — "Then, as now, they frequently shaved the head, leaving only a circle of hair extending along the edge of the forehead, from ear to ear. They all had a custom of cleaving the under part of tongue, and of piercing their ears for the introduction of ornaments. Like the Peruvians, the Natchez, and many other aboriginal nations they flattened their heads. When our children are young, said the chiefs... their heads are tender, and are then moulded into the shape which you see in us, by means of two pieces of wood, hollowed in the middle. Our gods instructed our ancestors that, by so doing, we should have a noble air, and the head be (is) better fitted to bear burthens". Squier, *Nicaragua,* II, p. 345.

(Thieves had their hair cut short. See Oviedo 5 G. Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdès, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias,* 1535-37, Book xlii, ch. 3).

"They make incisions in their tongues from underneath, and in their ears, some even in their virile parts. The women do nothing of that kind, but both sexes have large holes bored in their ears". Oviedo, *op. cit.* bk. xlii. ch. 1.

"The men (have)... their heads in knobs, with a dent in the middle, for beauty, and to set anything on to carry". Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent & Islands of America,* II, p. 297.

"The custom of tattooing, it seems, was practised to a certain extent, at least so far as to designate, by peculiarities in the marks, the several tribes or caziques to which the people belonged. "For", says Oviedo, "both sexes pierce their ears and make drawings on their bodies with stone knives, which are made black and permanent by a kind of coal called tile". Squier, *Nicaragua,* iii, p. 341.

"The Nicaraguans punctured their bodies, rubbing the blood from their wounds on the faces of their idols". Squier (*Palacio in Collection,* nº 1), p. 116.

ADORNMENTS, etc.

Yucatan. — "They are not as clean as we would have expected from their frequent washings". Landa, *op. cit.* xxxii.

"...They used to paint their faces and bodies red, which though it looked very odd, was considered a great beauty". Landa, *op. cit.* xx.

"The Indians like ugly things better than beautiful things. Thus we see that if the Indian has a fine complexion, he disfigures himself... with long hair, uncut nails and a deformed body. When they have dances, they always wear hideous masks, blacken their bodies, and put on tails of apes and tigerskins". Liçana, Bernado de, *Historia de Yucatan,* fol. 67,

(Mr. Stephens, who witnessed an Indian funeral at Uxmal, mentions that the wife, who was about to be buried, was wrapped in a *blue* shawl, (see Liçana, *Historia de Yucatan,* i, p. 246), and that the widower wore a *blue* shirt. Ib., p. 245).

"The women are clothed from the girdle to the ankle. With other garments they cover head and breast, and modestly take care that foot or leg is not seen". Petrus Martyr ab Angleria, *De rebus oceanis et novo orbe decades tres. De insulis nuper inventis,* etc., p. 331.

Vera Paz. — "The Dominican Friars had to instruct their flocks in the elementary processes of washing and dressing". Helps, *The Spanish Conquest in America,* iii, p. 389;

Nicaragua. — "The Nicaraguans are more eager in combing their hair than the Mexicans are". Gomara, *Historia General de las Indias,* 1552 (in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias,* Tom. I)., p. 283.

ARTS CONNECTED WITH FABRICS, etc.

Yucatan. — Weaving and dyeing.

(On the first Yucatanese boat met with by the Spaniards, much parti-coloured cloth, woven into cloaks, was found. See Cogolludo, *op. cit.* I, ch. 1).

Guatemala. — (Pottery, weaving and the other arts appear to have reached the same stage in the Quiché countries as among their neighbours).

San Salvador. — "Near Micla... too, is found... an earth which resembles copperas, and which it must be, judging from its effects. With this they make a dye". Palacio, *op. cit.* p. 87.

Honduras. — "That the aborigines had long known the uses of gold may be inferred from the ornaments worn by the natives of Honduras when Colombus first visited its shores. It may be supposed that these ornaments were taken with little labour from the surface as was done in the earlier days of California". Wells, H. V., *Explorations and Adventures in Honduras,* p. 531.

Nicaragua. — "...They display abundant metallurgic art. Soldering as well as casting was known to the ancient goldsmith, and the finer specimens have been finished with the hammer and graving-tool". D. Wilson, *Prehistoric Man,* i, pp. 303-4.

"The Indians are extraordinary goldsmiths". Herrera, *op. cit.* IV, p. 143.

Yucatan. — "Children (boys) were brought up quite naked ; only at four or five years of age they got a mantle for the night, and a rug to cover their privy parts, as their fathers did. Girls were from the same age covered from their loins downwards". Landa, *op. cit.* xxx.

"Their dress was a girdle of the breadth of a hand, which served instead of breeches and stockings. They tied it several times round the waist in such a way that one end fell down at the front and the other at the back. These ends were wrought by the women with much art and feather-work. They wore large, square mantles, which they fastened at the shoulder, and had sandals of hemp or deer-leather. They had no other garments". Landa *op. cit.* xx.

"The Indian women of the coast and of the provinces of Bacalar and Campeche are more decent in their dress, since, besides covering themselves from the girdle downwards, they covered their breasts by a cloth fixed under the armpits. The others wore only one garment which was like a large wide sack, open at both sides, which went down to the haunches. They had no other garments than this mantle, which they always slept with, and which, while travelling about, they carry... rolled up". Landa, *op. cit,* xxxi.

Itzaex. — "The clothes they wore were *ayates* or *gabachos* (loose dresses without sleeves), and their mantles were all of cotton, woven in various colours. The women, as well as the men, wore also sashes of cotton, about four yards long, and a foot wide, with which they girdle themselves, and at the end of this sash many of them attached a great quantity of coloured feathers, which were their greatest ornament". Ch. St. J. ; Fancourt, The *History of Yucatan,* pp. 313-14 (After Villagutierre).

Guatemala. — "The nobles wore a dress of white cotton, dyed or stained with different colours, the use of which was prohibited to other ranks... This vestment... reached to the knees. and was ornamented with a species of embroidery. The legs were bare ; the feet protected by sandals, fastened over the insteps, and at the heel by thongs of leather... The waist was girded with a piece of cloth... fastened in a knot before ; over the shoulders was thrown a white mantle". Juarros, Dom. *A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala,* p. 193.

Honduras. — "The women wore square clouts, one point whereof covered their breasts, and the other their back... The men went formerly naked, the lords or soldiers wearing a mantle of little value, and long clouts, with which they covered their secret parts". Herrera, *op. cit.* iv. p. 164.

Nicaragua. — "Their clothing was made of cotton. The men wore a sort of doublet without sleeves, and a belt, which, after passing around the body, was carried between the legs and fastened behind. The women had a *nagua,* hanging from the girdle as low as the knees. Those of the better orders had them falling as low as the ankle, and also wore a handkerchief covering their breasts. Both sexes wore sandals, made of deer-skins, and called *cutares,* which were fastened by a cotton cord, passing between the toes and around the heel". Squier, *Nicaragua,* ii. pp. 346-7.

WEAPONS

Yucatan. — "...For defence... they made quilted jackets of cotton filled with salt,... which were very strong. Some lords and captains had a sort of wooden helmet, but they were very few. With these weapons they went to war, and with plumes and tiger and lion skins, if they had any".

Honduras. — "The people found (near Truxillo) had a species of armour, like the Mexicans, made of quilted cotton, which was so thick... as often to resist the strokes of Spanish swords". Squier, *The States of Central America,* p. 249.

Nicaragua. — "...For defence, they used shields of wood covered with hide, and ornamented with feathers, which by their colour and figures which they formed, signified the rank and position of the bearer. They had also quilted jackets and short breeches covering the thighs, made of cotton, which an arrow pierced with difficulty, and which the Spaniards found to be so effective for defence, that they adopted them for themselves... (They wore a feather head-dress, and a plate of metal covering part of the face)..." Squier, *Nicaragua,* ii, p. 347.

Yucatan. — "Bells were even recently employed by the Indians, attached to the body, in dancing round an altar... Bells in the shape of the present hawk-bells, cascabells, were employed by the Indians in their rites, prior to the Conquest ; they were made of gold...". "All the hawk-bells found on Sacrificios were provided with rings, evidently showing their use for decorating the dress of a person or the harness of an animal". Birch, S, Report (In Nepean, *An Account of Certain Antiquities in the Island of Sacrificios*), p. 7.

"The women bedaubed themselves with black paint until they were married ; but they did not tattoo themselves, or did it very little ". Landa, *op. cit.* xxx.

Guatemala. — Palacio (in Squier, *op. cit.,* p. 55) mentions a cosmetic of the women of Tonala and Guaymoco, procured from the balsam tree.

"The barbarians, or unreclaimed Indians, of Guatemala... always paint themselves black, rather for the purpose of defence against mosquitos than for ornament". Juarros, *op. cit.* pp. 194-5.

Nicaragua. — "The women wear many strings of beads and other things on their neck". Oviedo, *op. cit.* xlii. ch. i.

"Their personal ornaments were chiefly gold and pearls. The people of Nicoya, who, Oviedo expressly tells us, were Chorotegans, pierced their lower lips and introduced round pieces of white bone, and sometimes a button of gold". Squier, *Nicaragua,* ii, p. 347.

"Occasionally round agates and with holes in the centre, and small eagles, have been met with. It seems to have been customary among the Duracho tribe to wear these eagles round the neck by way of ornament. Ferdinand Colombus frequently mentions them when speaking of Veraguas and the adjacent Mosquito shore. Several have been found in the last few years ; most of them measure, from wing to wing, about four inches". Seeman, B, *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Herald during the years* 1845-51, p. 314.

TABLE III

CHIBCHAS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

The districts inhabited by the Chibchas extended from about 4° to 6° North, being 45 *leguas* in length by a breadth of 12 to 15 *leguas*. They occupied the high plains and high valleys of the Eastern Cordillera (upwards of 8,000 ft. above the sea). Chalk formations prevail. Volcanoes. Mean annual temp. : 58° F.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Vegetation resembled European. The plains of Bogotà almost without trees.

Fauna : Deer, armadillo, jaguar, tapir, rabbit, dove, etc.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Chibchas were contiguous, in the West, with the Musos, Colimas, and Panches ; in the North, with the Laches, Agataes, and Guanes ; in the East, with the Llanos tribes, all far ruder than themselves.

Some small intercourse with Quito and Peru.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

Of rather small stature. Eyes horizontal. Nose large. Small forehead. Thick lips. Lower jaw protruding. Beards not uncommon. Women finer.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Apparently no slavery. Paid labour.

Goldsmiths of Guatavita, who were most skilled in working in gold and casting got scattered all over country, finding everywhere the means of living.

Iraca. — Office of the chief not hereditary. Election made by 4 caziques, alternately, among the Indians of Tobaza and Firabitoba.

Tunja. — Hereditary monarchy of the *Zaque.*

Bogota. — The Zipa absolute king (consulting the principal men in war matters, etc). The heir-apparent (nephew) became cazique of Chia, until he succeeded to the throne. A nobility of several degrees. Highest office at the court, the herald. Viceroys over larger provinces. No advanced centralisation.

Iraca was venerated as a holy country. The cazique, being the appointed successor of the founder of religion and civilisation, was believed to make the weather and to bestow good health. He was asked about any war to be undertaken.

Priests (Chques) were much respected and consulted. The office was inherited by sisters' sons, who after long and austere training were invested with the office by the king. They were unmarried and lived a solitary and hard life in houses near the temples.

CEREMONIAL

Had various ways of treating corpses. Bodies of chiefs wrapped in fine mantles and adornment with jewels after embalming.

Only principal men and priests permitted to have their dresses decorated, their ears and nose pierced, and jewels in them. To drag a mantle at one's feet and eat venison, privilege granted by king.

ORNAMENT

MUTILATIONS :

Ears and nose pierced to introduce jewels.

The young priests, after having gone through their training, had "their ears and nostrils pierced and golden earrings and 'caracuries' put into them". See P. Simon, Tercera (y Cuarto) *Noticia de la Segunda Parte de las Noticias Historiales de la Conquistas de Tierra Firme en el Nuevo Reyno de Granada,* p. 248.

"In the year of fasting, through which the heirs-apparent of caziques had to go, their nose and ears were pierced". P. Simon, *op. cit.,* p. 250.

For the *Guechas* (guardsmen) having their "lips, noses and ears pierced, and strings of gold quills hanging down from them, the number of which corresponded with the enemies they had killed". See J. Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias,* p. 219.

ADORNMENT, etc.

Liked emeralds and similar green stones. Painted themselves.

"It appears to me to be certain that the preference given by the ancient New-Granadines to green stones is to be accounted for by the high estimation in which they held emeralds, which are of the same colour, and are often confounded with other minerals". Uriocoechea, E. *Memoria sobre las Antiguedades Neo-Granadinas,* p. 52.

Painted themselves, and wore many jewels, garlands in the hair, necklaces, bracelets, crowns, etc.

"The men wear their hair down to their shoulders, and free, in the Nazarene form ; the women wear it loose and very long, and are so fond of having it long and black, that they use certain herbs to make it grow, and also strong black dyes"... The greatest affront that could be put on a man or woman was to have their hair cropped, or their mantle torn off by order of the cazique, as a punishment or an insult". Piedrahita, I. F. de *Historia del Nuevo Reyno de Granada,* bk. i., ch. 2.

"The women wore many jewels". Piedrahita, *op. cit.* i, 4.

"The women... wore on their heads garlands of roses and (other) flowers, made of cotton of several colours. Some prime women have cotton caps... and some of them net coifs". Herrera, Ant. de., *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America,* V. p. 80.

ARTS CONNECTED WITH FABRICS, etc.

"Of their cotton they made much fine and good cloth for mantles, since their preacher.. taught them to weave". P. Simon, *op. cit.* p. 256.

The cotton stuffs that were presented to Gen. Quesada, near Bogota, excelled all that had been previously met with. See Piedrahita, *op. cit.,* iv. 5.

The cotton cloth was printed in colours and rich in design. See Bollaert, *Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru and Chili,* p. 37.

"The mantles they weave of cotton are so rich and curious in their way, and of such good colours (besides white and black) that they were able to supply the want of the Spaniards". Piedrahita, *op. cit.* IV, 4.

CLOTHING

"The inhabitants of that province appeared more civilised in the eyes of the chroniclers, because they went about dressed, either from a feeling of shame, or, what is more certain, on account of the climate... They wore a sort of tunic or coat, reaching a little below the knees, and made generally of cotton, from which they wove excellent cloth... These coats were generally white, but noblemen, or those who had permission, had their garments painted black, or parti-coloured, thus displaying their exploits or their wealth. The square mantles, which served them as cloaks, were also of cotton. On the head they wore casques or helmets, generally made of the skin of fierce animals... adorned with feathers of all colours. The women used a square mantle, called Chircate, and fastened it to the girdle by a broad band (called Chumbe or Maure) ; over the shoulders the breast with a large pin of gold or silver (called Topo), the head of which is like a hawk's bill, the breasts being covered". Uricoechea, *op. cit.* 24-5.

P. Simon points to the great similarity of the mantles of men and women (*op. cit.* p. 251).

"They went about barefooted". P. Simon, *op. cit.* p. 244.

"Their costume (on solemn occasions) often consisted of animals' skins, with fine gold diadems in the shape of half-moons, with the horns pointing upwards". P. Simon, *op. cit.* p. 249.

"Small shirts with sea-shells hanging on them" are mentioned by Piedrahita, *op cit.* vii, 6.

"The shirts generally are white, and persons of rank have them painted by pencil with black tints, and coloured ; and in these their greatest wealth consisted. On the head they wore helmets, generally made of the skins of fierce animals (bears, tigers, lions) variegated with plumes of all colours. On the front they wore gold or silver half-moons, with the horns pointed upwards. They wore as bracelets strings of stone or bone beads ; in their nose and ears (pierced for that purpose) golden chagulas. The highest gala decoration consisted in the painting of the face and body with 'vija', or with black *jagua* marks (a colour extracted from a certain fruit of that name) and which remains many days, while a mark made with vija is coloured and soon fades. The women used a square mantle, called chircate, fastened at the waist by a band called chumbe or maure, and over the shoulders they wore another small mantle, called liquira, kept on the breast with a large gold or silver pin with a button called Topo, so that the bosom was nearly uncovered. At the present day they use the same marks of vija and jagua to paint the face and arms, thinking they will become more beautiful by these daubings, though these dresses and paints are becoming rarer, since the intercourse with the Spaniard induces them to dress in their manner, and they think dresses from Spain better than those of their own country". Piedrahita, *op. cit.* i, 2.

TABLE IV

ANCIENT PERUVIANS

INORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

Three quite different parts of the country :

1. Coast Region : Sandy waste, with isolated river valleys of high fertility. Red sandstone, granite, porphyry. Rainless region extending to about 7,000 ft above sea-level. Mean annual temp. 72° F. Frequent earthquakes.

2. The Sierra : South of 11° S. lat., two inclined plains rising to 13-14,000 ft; northwards, two valleys sloping rapidly. Trachite, augite, diorite, granite and porphyry. In the wet season (Nov. to May) weather extremely variable, in the dry season sunny and cheerful by day and dry and frosty by night (30° or under).

3. The Montana : To the east the Andes. Plains traversed by low hills. Max. 85°. Min. 74°.

ORGANIC ENVIRONMENT

1. Coast Region : Vegetation only on the banks of the streams. Luxuriant when the sea vapours are densest (end of June). Most tropical plants cultivable.

2. Sierra : In the northern low valleys all the intertropical plants and fruits. In the higher parts, maize, fruit-trees and herbs in abundance. In the highest, potatoes, etc.

3. Montana : immense vegetation of all kinds.

Fauna. — Puma, jaguar, deer, bear, llama, alpaca, guanoco, vicuna, wild boar, fox, alligator, tortoise, condor, myriads of sea-birds, etc.

SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Principal aboriginal nations : The Yncas of the Coast, are widely different from the inhabitants of the four Andes regions of Quito, Chinchasayu, the Centre (Quichuas-Yncas ? Canas, Chancas, Huancanas, Rucanas), the Callao. Apparently no intercourse with foreign civilized races.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

Quichas : Short stature ; square shouldered, and broad chested ; small hands and feet, and comparatively large head ; hair black, little beard. Aquiline nose, thick lips, small chin ; rather high cheek bones, horizontal eyes with arched eye-brows. Forehead high, but somewhat receding.

Collas : shorter stature ; coarser features.

FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CASTE

Some division of labour, beyond that between sexes.

Special artizans for special arts, and skilled workmen in the service of Yncas, Curacas, and the temples, even for ordinary trades. *Mamacuna* wove fine cloth. Consequently some specialization. Crafts were hereditary.

RANKS.

Legitimate heir of the crown, the first-born son of the principal wife ; in event of failure, another legitimate son of the Inca (chosen by the grandees) adopted by her, or the eldest relation of pure blood (traces of descent by females ?).

Labour inspected by government being partly due as tribute (by the common law) partly spent in supporting neighbours (by the brotherly law), and, when private, as being supported by supply of raw materials, or in years of scarcity compensated by distributions from the stores. No paid labour. A class of slaves (?).

Ranks : King, (Inca) as Child of the Sun, regarded with religious respect. Absolute lord and highest priest (sometimes officiating). If under a certain age, he was bound to act on the advice of the grandees.

2. The Yncas, tracing their pedigrees to a king (or some privileged followers of the first one ?). Many privileges.

3. Cuaracas, the former sovereigns of the conquered districts. Their relations.

4. Common people (divided in lineages).

5. Slaves (Yanacuna ?)

Public relief : From the flocks of llamas (appropriated almost exclusively to the Sun and the Inca) wool was given to the Curacas and the common people to make clothes. In the Coast valleys cotton given from the royal estates.

ECCLESIASTICAL

Ecclesiastical government not separated from political.

The Inca, as first-born son of the Sun, officiated at great festivals of the Sun. Priests gave advice in war matters.

The high-priest, appointing the subordinate priests, uncle or brother of the king, or at least a legitimate member of the royal family. All priests of the House of the Sun at Cuzco were Incas ; also the principal priest in each province (to maintain conformity with Cuzco), the others being relations of the Cuzcos.

CEREMONIAL

Different ways of dealing with dead bodies. All were wrapped in many coverings, Inca kings and queens in princely attire.

Ears bored for earrings (bored lips and nose-rings of the Huancavillcas).

"Among these people they thought so much of the boring the ears, that, if the orifice was broken through by any accident, the man to whom it happened was looked upon as unfortunate. They stuff pieces of cotton into the orifices and each day they put in more to enlarge it". Molina, *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas,* p. 46.

"The Huancavillcas, men and women, bored the cartilage between their nostrils, and wore there a jewel of gold and silver". Garcilasso de la Vega, *First part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas,* bk, ix, 3.

"If any hairs grown on the chin, they pull them out, and strange to say, this is done wherever Indians are met with in these lands." Cieza de Leon, P. de, *Travels,* A. D. 1532-50.

Caraques. — "When a child was born, they put its head between two boards, so that, at the age of four or five, the head was long and broad, but flat behind... they themselves say that they force their heads into these shapes that they may be more healthy and be able to do more work". Ciez, *op. cit.* ch. 50.

Collas. "Their heads are very long and flattened behind because they are pressed and forced into what shape they choose during childhood". Cieza, ch. 100.

Family marks ? Castration of the guards of concubines ?

ADORNMENT, etc.

In the Sierra more cleanly than at the Coast. Women of Cuzco careful in combing out their hair.

"The people of all the villages we came to after ascending the mountains, are superior to those we left behind. Those of the mountains are clean... and the women are very modest". Fr. de Xeres, *Reports on the Discovery of Peru,* p. 46.

For the Coast people being dirty, see Fr. de Xeres, *Reports,* p. 32.

"The women are very careful in combing out their hair". Cieza, *op. cit,* ch. 41.

"The Indians were very fond of the beauty of the (vermilion) colour". Garcilasso, *op. cit,* viii, 25.

Gold and silver were only used for ornamental purposes, see Garcilasso, *op. cit,* iv. 5. Of precious stones, turquoises, emeralds and crystals were used (Ibid. VIII, 23).

"Among the Indians the black colour was preferred for the sacrifices, as more sacred ; for they said that a black beast was black all over, while a white one... always had a black nose, which was a defect and caused it to be less perfect than a black beast. For this reason also the kings generally dressed in black, and their mourning was the natural colour of the wool, which they call grey". Garcilasso, *op. cit.* VI, 21.

"When Pachicuti's father died the mourning was vicuna wool of a white colour". Santa Cruz, *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas,* p. 95.

Dark blue is now the general colour of mourning. See Tschudi, F.F. von, *Peru,* ii, p. 353.

ARTS CONNECTED WITH FABRICS, etc.

"They made the spindles of cane. The spindle had a knob at the end, and was not hollow. They made a knot of the thread they were spinning, and loosened the spindle, making the thread as long as possible. They then recovered it in the fingers of the left hand, to turn it on the spindle. They carried the distaff in the left hand and not at the girdle, holding it with the two smaller fingers, and taking hold with both hands to thin off the thread and get rid of anything sticking to it. They did not bring it to their mouth, because, in my time, they did not spin linen, as they had none, but only cotton and cloth. They spin slowly because of the complicated nature of the method I have described". Garcilasso, *op. cit.* iv. ch. 13.

"All they wore was first twisted, both wool and cotton. All the cloths, as many as they wanted to make, were taken from four selvages ; and they did not have the warp longer than was required for each mantle or shirt. The vestments were not cut out, but were entire, just as the cloth came from the frame ; for, before they began to weave, they settled the required length and breadth, more or less". Garcilasso, *op. cit.* iv. ch. 13.

"In forming an opinion of the degree of skill displayed in the arts of spinning and weaving by these specimens, (recovered in the graves of Atacama), it should be borne in mind that the implements in use were of the simplest contrivance. The only ones which have been discovered are simple distaffs, and among the articles obtained from the Atacama graves were several formed of wood and stone, such as are still in use among the Indians of Peru at the present day. Weaving on the loom has not been introduced among them. The warp is secured by straw driven into the ground, and the fitting in is inserted by the slow process of passing it by and over and under each thread alternately". Blake (D. Wilson, *Prehistoric Man,* i. p. 442).

"They make three kinds of cloth from the wool of the paco llama (the smaller of the two domestic sorts of llama), with beautiful dyes, which the Indians well know how to apply, which never fade". Garcilasso, viii, 16.

"In Pomatambo, and other parts of this kingdom, they make very good tapestry, the wool being very fine from which they make it, and the colours with which they dye it are so perfect that they excel those of other countries" Cieza, *op. cit.* ch. 94.

"The Peruvians wove cotton and woollen cloths with great skill... They also know the secret of fixing the dyes of all the colours — flesh colour, yellow, grey, blue, green, black — so firmly that they never fade, even after the lapse of ages ; and all their dyes were extracted from vegetables. They ornamented their textures by sewing leaves of gold or silver, mother-of-pearl, and feathers on them ; and they also made fringes, laces, and tassels of wool and cotton, to adorn carpets and tapestries". Markham (Cieza, *op. cit.* p. 405, Note 2).

"In the government of Popayan there is an earth, with which, and with the leaves of a tree, they make a perfect black dye ; but it would be wearisome to repeat all the details connected with the way they make dyes". Cieza, *op. cit.* ch. 104.

For a vermilion colour, see Garcilasso, viii ; 25, *op. cit.*

"It would be a grave error to assume that in such relics, recovered from the ordinary graves... the highest achievements of ancient Peruvian skill. On the contrary, regarding them, as we must, as fair specimens of the common tissues of the country, they amply confirm the probability that the costly hangings and beautifully wrought robes of the Ynca and his nobles fully justified the admiration with which they are referred to by the Spanish writers of the sixteenth century". D. Wilson, *op. cit.* i, p. 442.

The Peruvians rubbed the llama-skin with grease until it was pliable, but did not really dress it. See Garcilasso, *op. cit.* viii, 18.

"...They also extracted fine threads from the precious metal and wove them into cloths". Markham (Cieza, *op. cit.* p. 404, N. 1).

"...Besides their silver utensils, they make chains, stamped ornaments and other things of gold. Even boys, who, to look at them, one would think were hardly old enough to talk, knew how to make these things". Cieza, *op. cit.* ch. 114.

"...The llama and the alpaca do not exist in a wild state at all, and the variety in the colours of their fleece seems to be a sign of long domestication". Markham (Cieza, *op. cit.* p. 24).

"The number of sheep reared in that country was wonderful... When a province was taken, many sheep were provided to be reared there ; so that in every province there were flocks of sheep, although before these provinces were conquered, there might not have been any". Andagoya, P. de, *Narratives containing the Earliest Notice of Peru.*, p. 56.

"The llama is invaluable to the Peruvian Indians, and Cieza de Léon truly says that without this wonderful animal they could scarcely exist. Their food is llama flesh... their clothing is made from llama wool ; all the leather they use is from llama hides ; the only fuel they have in many parts of the Callao is llama dung, and while living the llama is their beast of burden". Markham (Cieza, *op. cit.*, p. 396, Note).

"The tame animal is of all colours, like the horse in Spain ; while the wild huanucu is always of the same colour". Blas Valera in Garcilasso, *op. cit.*, viii, 16.

CLOTHING

"The cloth, in all parts of the Sierra, was made of wool ; ...On the plains of the sea-coast, where the climate is warm, and they do not dress in woollens, they made cotton cloths". Garcilasso, *op. cit.* v. 6.

"The clothes of these Indians (of Caxas) are of llama wool, and also of vicuna wool, which is better and finer... Those who cannot get clothes made of wool, use cotton". Cieza, *op. cit.* ch. 58.

"The Indians of Cuzco are better dressed than those of any of the other provinces, both because it is colder here in winter, and because the land is more fertile, and the people are richer". Guzman, D. Alphonso de, *Life and Acts,* A. D. 1518 to 1543.

"The Indians make mantles of the skins (of *Lagidium Peruvianum,* May), which are as soft as silk". Cieza, *op. cit.* ch. 113.

"The men wear a shirt without sleeves, made either of wool or cotton, and a cloak clustered on one shoulder... They make shoes of a white herb like hemp. The women wear a long cloak, which covers them from the shoulders down to the feet. They bind themselves round with a band four fingers wide, which they call chiumbi. On their neck they wear long needles of gold and silver called topi ; over the other cloak they have a short one, called liquida. This is the mode of dress at Cuzco". Benzoni, Girold, *History of the New World,* p. 249.

Robes of batskins worn by the Inca. Variegated liveries.

P. Pizarro mentions, as found at Guzco, depôts of shoes. The soles consisted of agave cord, and the upper part of very fine wool of different colours. *Relation des Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reinos de Peru,* p. 272.

"In the time of the Yncas each Indian was known by his headdress, which showed to what tribe or nation he belonged". Garcilasso, *op. cit.,* viii, 4.

"The Conchucos wear distinguishing cords or fringes on their heads". Cieza, *op. cit.* ch. 82.

"The Cavinas go about with a black fillet twisted round their heads". Cieza, ch. 97.

Collas. "These people wear woollen caps called chucos on their heads... The women wear hoods on their heads almost of the same shape as those worn by friars". Cieza, *op. cit.* ch. 100.

"In some parts (of the province of Xaxas) they wear the hair very long, and in others short and plaited in very small plaits". Cieza, op. cit. ch. 58.

"All these Indians wear certain marks by which they are known and which were used by their ancestors". Cieza, *op. cit.* 88.

The young women of the blood royal put vermilion in a line from the corner of the eyes to the temples. (Tattooing in Quito and on the northern coast). Different hair-dresses of the several provinces. Ear-rings (nose-rings of Huancavillcas ; chiefs near Guayaquil fastened bits of gold on their teeth). Bracelets, Collars, Crowns of small gold beads worn by the Indians of Guayaquil.

"The Indians of Puerto Vieja and Guayaquil wear a few ornaments, such as jewels of gold, and very small beads called *chaquira*". Cieza, *op. cit.* ch. 46.

"On their heads(the Indians of Guayaquil) wear crowns of very small goldbeads, called chaquira, and some of silver... In some of these villages the caziques or chiefs, fasten bits of gold on their teeth". Cieza, *op. cit.* ch. 56.

"Ornaments... were generally of gold, and set with coloured shells". Tschudi, *Peru,* ii. p. 395.

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